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29

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Historical
AND
ECCLESIASTICAL
SKETCHES OF BENGAL,

FROM THE
EARLIEST SETTLEMENT, UNTIL THE
VIRTUAL CONQUEST
OF THAT COUNTRY BY THE ENGLISH,

IN 1757.



CALCUTTA:

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INDEX

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Historical Sketches

OF

B E N G A L,

FROM THE

EARLIEST SETTLEMENT OF THE ENGLISH,

UNTIL THEIR

VIRTUAL CONQUEST

IN 1757.



The English East India Company establish a Factory at Patna, A. D. 1620.

IT was during the period that Afzul Khan governed Behar, and Ibrahim Khan, Bengal, that the English first visited these provinces. Some years previous to this time, agents had been sent, overland, from Surat to Agra, where they had established a factory; and, on their representation, two persons were sent (A. D. 1620) to Patna, to purchase cloths, and to establish a house of business in that city; but the great expense of land-carriage first to Agra, and then to Surat, so enhanced the price of the articles, that in the following year the trade was abandoned.*

* See Memoirs, Hughes and Parker's Letter Vol. I. of India Records, A. D. 1620.

Sultan Shujah appointed Gungun. Transfers the seat of Government to Rajmahel—Appoints his father-in-law to be his Deputy at Dacca—Account of Mr. Boughton, an English Surgeon, who obtained considerable privileges for his nation.

EARLY in the year 1649, Sultan Shujah, the second son of the Emperor Shah Jehan, then twenty-four years of age, took possession of the government of Bengal; but his father, fearing to trust him with too much power, conferred the government of Behar on Shaista Khan, the son of the vizier Asuf Jah, and nephew of Noor Jehan.

Shujah again transferred the seat of government to Rajmahel (termed, in the records of that time, *Akbarnagur*), and built there an elegant palace, some of the rooms of which are yet standing. He also strengthened the fortifications which had been erected by Raja Man Sing; and expended large sums of money in rendering the city worthy of his residence; but, the following year, nearly the whole of the city, and the principal part of the palace, were destroyed by a dreadful conflagration, in which many lives were lost, and the family of the Prince with difficulty escaped.

About the same time, the current of the Ganges changed its bed, and poured its torrents against the walls of the new capital, washing away many of the stately edifices.

Previous to that time, the course of the Ganges was along the northern bank, running under the walls of Gour; but since that period, it pours its torrents against the rocks of Rajmahel, forming eddies and whirlpools, dangerous to the incautious or impatient traveller.

In consequence of the youth and inexperience of Shujah, the Emperor took the precaution of sending with him Aazim Khan, who had been Governor of Bengal for nearly five years, and to whose daughter the Prince was lately married; as his chief counsellor and adviser; but Shujah, either wishing to make him a handsome provision, or to be freed from the superintendence of his father-in-law, appointed that nobleman to reside as his deputy at Dacca; but he, being shortly disgusted with that situation, was, by his own request, removed to the government of Allahabad: whence he was transferred to Joanpore, and died there, in the year 1659, aged seventy-six years. He was buried in his own garden, in the vicinity of that city, where his tomb is still shown.

* See Asiatic Researches, Vol. v. p. 371. 8vo edit.

The early part of Sultan Shujaa's government was distinguished by his condescension to the English; and by his granting them permission to establish factories, both at Balasore and at Hooghly; but their ships were not yet permitted to enter the Ganges.

The cause of this partiality to a nation which was destined to become the rival power, and ultimately the support of the descendants of Timour, is thus satisfactorily accounted for.

In the year of the Hegira 1046, a daughter of the Emperor Shah Jehan having been dreadfully burnt, by her clothes catching fire, an express was sent to Surat, through the recommendation of the vizier Assud Khan, to desire the assistance of an European Surgeon. For this service the Council at Surat nominated Mr. Gabriel Boughton, surgeon of the ship *Hope-well*, who immediately proceeded to the Emperor's camp, then in the Dekkan, and had the good fortune to cure the young Princess of the effects of her accident. Mr. Boughton, in consequence, became a great favourite at Court; and having been desired to name his reward, he with that liberality which characterizes Britons, sought not for any private emolument; but solicited that his nation might have liberty to trade, free of all duties, to Bengal, and to establish factories in that country. His request was complied with, and he was furnished with the means of travelling across the country to Bengal. Upon his arrival in that province, he proceeded, to Piple; and, in the year 1648, an English ship happening to arrive in that port, he, in virtue of the Emperor's firman*, and the privileges granted to him, negotiated the whole of the concerns of that vessel without the payment of any duties.

In the following year, the Prince Shujaa, having taken possession of the government, Mr. Boughton proceeded to Rajmahal, to pay his respects to his Royal Highness: he was most graciously received; and one of the ladies of the *harem*, being then indisposed with a complaint in her side, the English surgeon was again employed, and had the good fortune to accelerate her recovery. Owing to this event, Mr. Boughton was held in high estimation at the Court of Rajmahal; and, by his influence with the Prince, was enabled to carry into effect the orders of the Emperor, which might otherwise have been cavilled at, or, by some underhand method, have been rendered nugatory.

In the year 1650, the same ship returned from England, and brought out a Mr. Bridgeman, and some other persons,

* I was not able to find a copy of this firman among the Indian Records; but Mr. Bruce mentions that it is in the State-paper Office; and is dated Feb. 2, 1649-4.

for the purpose of establishing factories in Bengal. Mr. Boughton, having represented the circumstance to the Prince, was ordered to send for Mr. Bridgeman: that gentleman, in consequence, went to Rajmahel, was introduced to the Prince, and obtained an order to establish, in addition to that at Pipley, factories at Ballasore and Hoogly*. Some time after this event, Mr. Boughton died; but the Prince still continued his liberality and kindness to the English.

For eight years Shujaa ruled Bengal with great justice and propriety; but as Shah Jehan made it a practice to change his governors frequently, and was jealous of the power and authority he had himself conferred on his sons, he, in the year 1657, sent an order to the Prince, to deliver over the government to the Nuwab Aitcad Khan, and to repair to Court, as he was anxious again to have the pleasure of seeing him, after so long an absence.

Shaista Khan re-appointed to the Government—Enforces the Jizia, or poll-tax—Destroys several Hindoo temples—The English obtain an Imperial Firman, or order for trade—The factories in Bengal made independent of Madras—Mr. Hedges appointed Governor of the Company's settlements in Bengal—The Royal firman proves defective—Account of the rebellion of the Zemindar of Behar—The Company's Governor applies to the Nuwab for permission to erect a fort on the bank of the Ganges—The Nuwab refuses, and insists upon the English paying the same duties they did at Surat—Disputes in consequence—The East-India Company obtain the sanction of King James II. to make war on the Nuwab of Bengal and the Emperor of Hindoostan—An expedition is fitted out, in England, to attack Chittagong—Instructions to the Admiral—Failure of the expedition—Causes explained—An affray between the English and Mogul troops at Hoogly—The Admiral cannonades and sets fire to the town—The Foujedar requests a suspension of hostilities, and enters into a convention—The Nuwab refuses to ratify the convention—Orders all the English factories to be confiscated, and sends an army to expel them from the country—The English retreat to Suttanuttty—The Dutch and French take advantage of the dispute—The English anxious to make peace—The Nuwab sends three Commissioners from Dacca to settle terms, but at the same time reinforces the army at Hoogly—The English re-

* See East-India Records, Vol. xiv. p. 22.

SKETCHES OF BENGAL.

8

treat to Hidgelee—Description of that place—Consequences of the retreat—The Nuwab offers to make peace—Treaty signed—The English return to Sutanutty—The Company disapprove of the treaty, and resolve to prosecute the war—A line-of-battle ship and a frigate despatched to India under the command of Captain Heath—The Nuwab renews his oppression of the English. The reinforcement arrives from England—Captain Heath resolves, in opposition to the wishes of Mr. Charnock, to recommence the war—Orders all the Company's servants to embark on board the fleet—Sets sail, and arrives at Ballasore—Attacks and plunders that town—Sets sail for Chittagong—Finds that place too strong to be attacked—Agrees to enter into a negotiation again with the Nuwab; but, before an answer could arrive, proceeds to Arracan, and offers proposals to the Raja—Without waiting for an answer, sails to Madras—The Emperor orders the English to be expelled from his dominions—The Nuwab Shaista Khan requests permission to resign his government—Quits Bengal—Dies.

ON the same day that orders were despatched to recall Sultan Mohammed Aazim to Court, the Nuwab Shaista Khan was re-appointed to the government of Bengal; and arrived at Dacca about the end of the year 1690.

Immediately after Shaista Khan's return to Bengal, he was compelled, in obedience to the regulations of Aurungzebe, to enforce the *Jizia*, or poll-tax, from the Hindoos*; which circumstance rendered both him and the Emperor very unpopular throughout the province. At Hoogly, his officers demanded payment of this tax by all Europeans and other Christians; but the Dutch and English refusing to pay it, the demand was modified into a present of Persian horses for the Nuwab's use.

About the same period, a number of the Hindoo temples were destroyed; and Roy Mullick Chand, a Hindoo of rank, who was accused of having committed some frauds in the revenue department, was confined in irons, and threatened to be sent in that state to the Emperor, unless he consented to turn Mohammedan. The object of this threat was merely to extort money; but the parsimonious and persevering Hindoo remained long in confinement, without complying with their wishes; and was at length liberated, at the intercession of Prince Mohammed Aazim, to whom he was known.

* The *Jizia* was 6½ per thousand on all property. The sick, lame, and blind, were excused. Christians paid 1½ per cent, additional duty on their commerce.

The factors of the English Company, having found it exceedingly troublesome and expensive to procure a fresh order for freedom of trade from every succeeding Governor, had, upon the removal of Shaista Khan, sent an agent with him to the Emperor's camp, to solicit an Imperial *firman*, to settle this business for ever; and the agent, after much expense and perseverance, succeeded in procuring the Emperor's order, with which he returned to Hoogly, on the 8th of July 1690. The English factors, wishing to make a great display of their success, caused the *firman* to be received with much ceremony, and to be saluted with three hundred guns, from the factory and the ships anchored opposite the town.

The great increase of the Bengal investments, and the procuring of the Imperial *firman*, induced the Company to render Bengal independent of Madras; and, in consequence, they appointed Mr. Hedges, one of their Directors, to be chief agent, or Governor, of all their affairs in the Bay of Bengal, and all other factories subordinate thereto. His residence was fixed at Hoogly; and, in order to give dignity to the office, a guard of a corporal and twenty European soldiers was sent from Fort St. George, for his protection. This was the first military establishment of the Company in Bengal; and the foundation of the English power in that country*. But as the Imperial *firman* was purposely drawn out in a vague and obscure style, it soon gave rise to disputes, and involved their affairs in difficulty.

Some other circumstances also occurred about this time, which added much to the embarrassments of the English. In the year 1695, a young man, calling himself the son of Sultan Shujaa, made his appearance at Patna; who pretended he had, with much difficulty, effected his escape from Arracan; and called upon the people to espouse his cause: but Syf Khan, the governor of Behar, obtaining intelligence of the circumstance before he could procure any partizans in his favour, seized him, and put him in irons.

A few days after this event, Gangaram, the zemindar of Behar, rebelled; and, having collected a number of followers, plundered the city of Behar. Immediately after, he advanced to Pa na; giving out that the Prince Akbar†, who in the preceding year had rebelled against his father, had taken refuge with him; and exhorting all those who were dissatisfied with the present government to join the standard of the young

* To avoid a repetition of references, the reader is informed, that nearly the whole of this chapter is taken from Orme's *Indostan*, and Bruce's *Annals of the East-India Company*.

† See Orme's *Historical Fragments*, A. D. 1681.

prince. The Nuwab, who was detested for his tyrannical disposition, and who had neglected to keep up a proper establishment of troops, was so much alarmed, that he had not the courage to meet the rebels, but shut himself up in the city; the fortifications of which being very deficient, the inhabitants were excessively alarmed, and the merchants sent off all their most valuable property. The siege continued for some time; but owing more to the awkwardness of the assailants than to the courage of the garrison, the former failed in their attempt, and were obliged to content themselves with the plunder of the adjacent villages. Some of the soldiers of the garrison, however, commiserating the situation of the pretended son of Shuja, struck off his irons, and permitted him to escape to the rebels; which added strength to their party, and increased the suspicions and alarm of the Governor. At length, re-inforcements arriving from Benaras and Dacca, the rebels dispersed, and the gates of the city were again opened.

During the period of this disturbance, Mr. Peacock, and the other English gentlemen, continued to reside unmolested at their factory at Singee, distant ten or twelve miles from Patna, among the saltpetre grounds, which circumstance inducing the Nuwab to suspect they were in league with the rebels, he not only forbade them purchasing any more saltpetre that year, but threw Mr. Peacock into prison; whence it was with much difficulty and intercession that he was released.

The affairs of the Company had also, for several years, been much annoyed by the interference of other British subjects; in consequence of which, the Governor at Hoogly, Mr. Gyfford, in the year 1697, made an application, in the name of the Company, to the Nuwab Shaista Khan, for permission to erect a fortification in the mouth, or on the banks, of the Ganges—to prevent the ships of those persons, whom they denominated interlopers, from entering the river; and for the better protection of their own property. But the Nuwab was too experienced a statesman to trust foreigners with such power: he not only refused the request, but insisted, notwithstanding the Emperor's firman, upon the English paying three and a half per cent. duties upon all their imports, instead of the annual sum of 3000 rupees, which they had formerly paid.

This circumstance, aggravated by the oppressions of the Foujedar* of Gossimbazar, brought on a dispute between the Nuwab and the English, which so injured the trade of the latter, that their ships were obliged to leave Bengal without obtaining cargoes. The Nuwab, nevertheless, stated the affairs in such a light to the Emperor, as much excited his anger against the English.

Whilst the minds of each party were thus exasperated, there seemed to be no other remedy for the English than—either to

† Military Governor,

relinquish the trade to Bengal entirely ; or, by having recourse to arms, to effect by force what they could not obtain by entreaty.

The East-India Company censured their agent in Bengal for having been too submissive to the despot ; and directed the Governor of Fort St. George to make strenuous application to the Emperor for a firman, or order, permitting the English to occupy one of the uninhabited islands in the Ganges ; also to fortify the port of Hidgelee, on the western bank of that river, that their agents, in future, might not be subjected to the impositions of the Nuwab, or his inferior officers.

But as it was highly improbable that such a proposition would be acceded to, the Company obtained the sanction of King James II. to retaliate the injuries they had sustained, and to reimburse themselves for the loss of their privileges in Bengal, by hostilities against the Nuwab, and his master the great Aurungzebe.

To effect this object, an expedition was fitted out in England, consisting of ten ships of war, carrying from twelve to seventy guns each, under the command of Vice-admiral Nicholson ; and on board these ships was embarked a regiment of six hundred soldiers, which on its arrival at Madras, was to be augmented, from that garrison, to one thousand men.

Admiral Nicholson was instructed, first to proceed to Balasore ; and having brought away the Company's agents from thence, he was then to continue his voyage to Chittagong, on the eastern side of the Bay of Bengal ; and, having taken possession of that port, to fortify it in the best possible manner ; for which purpose two hundred pieces of cannon were sent on board the fleet : and in order to facilitate this enterprise, and to forward the future views of the Company, the Admiral was directed to enter into a treaty of alliance with the Raja of Arracan ; who, it was supposed, would readily co-operate with the English, from his animosity to the Mogul government, with whom he had been frequently engaged in war, and who had recently wrested from him that part of his dominions.

The Admiral was further instructed, to enter into terms with the Hindoo chiefs, or zemindars, in that neighbourhood ; to establish a mint : to collect a revenue ; and, in short, to render Chittagong *a place of arms* for the English on the eastern side of the Bay of Bengal, as Fort St. George was on the western shore.

As soon as this object should be accomplished, the troops, and smallest vessels, were to proceed against Dacca ; and, as it was presumed the Nuwab and his army would abandon that city, peace was then to be offered to him, on the following conditions : That he should cede the city and territory of Chittagong to the Company, and pay the debts due to them

SKETCHES OF BENGAL.

by his subjects. That he should allow the rupees coined at Chittagong to pass current in Bengal; and restore to the English all the privileges they were entitled to from the firmans of former Emperors. That each party should bear their respective losses and expenses in the war; and that this treaty should be ratified by the Emperor, and the President (of the English nation) at Surat.

But as it might be considered ungenerous to make such an attack without some previous notice, the Admiral was furnished with letters from the Company, addressed to the Nuwab and to the Emperor, explaining the grievances the English had sustained, by the breach of the firmans under which they had so long acted; by the seizure of their property; and by the repeated extortions made from their agents.

This spirited, if not rash, enterprise was defeated by several unforeseen accidents; the fleet was long detained by contrary winds; it was dispersed during the voyage; and several of the ships, instead of proceeding to Chittagong, entered the western branch of the Ganges, and anchored at Hoogly.

In the meantime, the Madras government had sent round 400 soldiers and had directed Mr. Charnock to raise a second company of Portuguese infantry, to be officered by the Company's servants.

The arrival of such a force in the Ganges immediately roused the suspicions and fears of Shajista Khan. He offered to compromise the differences with the English, and to submit the whole of their dispute to arbitrators appointed on both sides; but in order to be prepared against any acts of hostility, he ordered a considerable body of troops to encamp in the vicinity of Hoogly. These overtures and precautions were, however, rendered nugatory, and the intentions of the Company completely frustrated, by a petty affray between the troops of the opposite parties: for, after Mr. Charnock, the Governor, had been fully informed of the Company's designs, and after a considerable part of the fleet had arrived in the river, hostilities were brought on, in a premature manner, by the following unexpected circumstance.

On the 28th of October, three English soldiers quarrelled in the market, with some of the Nuwab's troops, and were severely beaten: a company of soldiers were, in consequence, called out for their defence; afterwards a second company, and then the whole of the English troops: and as, upon the first alarm, the Nuwab's forces, who were encamped outside the town, also joined their countrymen, a general action took place. Sixty of the Mogul troops were killed, and a considerable number of them wounded. During the conflict, Admiral Nicholson opened a cannonade on the town, and burnt five

hundred houses; amongst which was the Company's factory, valued, with the goods therein, at 300,000*l.*; and a party of his seamen, having landed, spiked all the guns in the batteries.

The Foutjedar, much alarmed by these events, solicited a suspension of hostilities, which was granted, on condition of his giving assistance to convey the saltpetre, and other goods that might be saved from the conflagration, on board the ships: with this stipulation he immediately acquiesced; and, at a conference held between him and Mr. Charnock, agreed to restore to the English all their privileges of trade, until they could obtain a new firman from the Emperor.

It is probable that this act of condescension, on the part of the Foutjedar, was forced from him by his fears; or, that he sought merely to gain time; for as soon as the circumstances were made known to the Nuwab Shaista Khan, he directed the English factories at Patna, Malia, Dacca, and Cossimbazar, to be confiscated; and ordered a very considerable body, both of infantry and cavalry, to proceed immediately to Hoogly, and to expel the English from the country.

During this interval, the Agent and Council at Hoogly, considering that they were likely to be overpowered if they remained in that situation, retired, on the 20th of December, to Suttanuddy (part of the present Calcutta), as being a stronger and safer post; where, being under the protection of their ships, they might remain in security, till matters could be accommodated with the Nuwab.

In this situation of the English affairs, the Dutch and French took advantage of the dispute, particularly the former, who having eleven ships in the river, obtained valuable investments of goods, and re-established their factories, which, in consequence of the various oppression they had sustained, they had previously determined to abandon.

As that part of the English shipping, which had conveyed the expedition to Bengal, required considerable repairs; and as many apprehensions were entertained for the safety of the remainder of the fleet, on board of which was embarked the greater part of the troops; it was the opinion of both Admiral Nicholson, and the Council of Hoogly, that, instead of carrying into effect the Company's designs upon Chittagong, they might consider themselves extremely fortunate if they should be able to restore matters to the same footing they had been on, previous to the commencement of hostilities: and so strongly was President Gyfford, and the Government of Madras, persuaded of the untoward termination of the expedition, that they sent a petition to the Emperor, praying for forgiveness of what had passed, and soliciting a confirmation of their former firmans.

In the end of December, 1687, three of the Nuwab's ministers came from Dacca to Hoogly, where, having been met by Mr. Charnock and the members of his Council, a preliminary treaty, ceding particular advantages to the English, was agreed upon: but this measure seems to have been adopted by the Nuwab merely to give him an opportunity of assembling his troops; for early in the month of February, 1688, a numerous army, consisting principally of cavalry, arrived at Hoogly, with the avowed intention of driving the English out of the country.

As soon as Mr. Charnock was informed of the circumstance, he judged it imprudent to remain longer at Suttanuttty, and immediately commenced a retreat to Hidgelee. On their route to that place, the troops stormed and plundered the fort of Tanna, ten miles below Suttanuttty, on the western bank of the river, and burned down several magazines of salt, and granaries of rice, belonging to the Mogul subjects. They also took several Mogul ships, which they found in the river.

Hidgelee is an island in the mouth of the river Ganges, but separated from the western bank only by a narrow stream, the greater part of it is covered with long grass, the habitation of tigers: nor does it produce a drop of good water. In this spot, perhaps the unhealthiest of the whole province, Mr. Charnock pitched his camp, and erected batteries on the most accessible parts of the island; whilst the ships, which he had caused to be anchored in the middle of the stream, completely commanded the passage of the river.

In this situation, Abdul Sumud Khan, the Mogul General, very prudently allowed them to remain, with little molestation; well convinced, that the pestilential air and brackish water of Hidgelee would prove to them a more formidable enemy than any force he could bring against them. His conjectures were completely verified; for in three months more than half of the European troops died, and the remainder were only fit subjects for an hospital.

At this critical period, overtures of peace were made by the Nuwab, and were joyfully accepted by Mr. Charnock and his Council: hostilities ceased; and, on the 16th of August 1688, a treaty was signed, when the English were permitted to return to all their factories in different parts of the province: the duty of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. was abrogated; and they were allowed to erect magazines and to construct docks for their shipping at Ouloharea, a populous village situated on the western bank, about eighty miles from the mouth of the river, and twenty below Calcutta. The only stipulation made, on the part of the Nuwab, was, that the English should restore the Mogul vessels they had taken, and that their ships of war should not again

approach Hoogly. In order to account for this favourable change in the sentiments of the Nuwab Shaista Khan, it is requisite to state, that, at the same period Admiral Nicholson's fleet was fitted out in England for the attack on Chittagong, orders had been sent to the Governor at Bombay to withdraw the Company's factories from Surat, and the other Mogul ports on the western side of India, and to commence hostilities against the Emperor Aurungzebe, by directing the English cruisers to seize upon all the ships and vessels of the Mogul subjects, wherever they should be found.

In compliance with these orders, Sir John Child, and the principal factors, left Surat on the 25th of April 1689; and the English cruisers having in a short time captured a number of the Mogul vessels, the Emperor became solicitous for peace, and authorized the Governor of Surat to depute an envoy to Bombay, to learn on what terms it might be obtained. He also sent orders to Shaista Khan, to compromise matters with the English in Bengal, and to permit them to re-occupy all their factories. It was in consequence of these orders that Mr. Charnock obtained such favourable and unexpected terms.

In virtue of the treaty, Mr. Charnock, not wishing to return to Hoogly without the ships of war, took possession of Ouloharee, and commenced making docks for careening the vessels; but, after a residence of three months, he took a dislike to the place, and obtained permission to return to Suttanutt, where the factors and troops lived in huts, till proper habitations could be erected.

When intelligence of the total failure of the expedition, and the disastrous consequences which ensued, reached England, the Company were much dissatisfied with the conduct of their servants abroad; and resolved, that unless a fortification, with a district round it, in Bengal, to be held as an independent sovereignty, should be ceded to them by the Emperor of Hindoostan, with permission to coin money which should be current throughout all his dominions, they would no longer carry on any commerce with that country, but annoy him and his subjects by every means in their power.

To effect this determination, a reinforcement of a line-of-battle ship and a frigate, on which were embarked one hundred and sixty soldiers, were despatched, under the command of Captain Heath, to Bengal, either to prosecute the war with vigour, or to bring away all the Company's servants, with whatever property might be saved from the general wreck; and to land them at Madras.

In the meantime, the Emperor's clemency to the English, in Bengal not having put a stop to their hostilities on the coast of Malabar, the Nuwab found himself at liberty to re-

commence his oppressions on the agents of the Company. He ordered them to return and settle at Hoogly; and not to build, with either stone or brick, at Suttanuttty. He also granted free permission to his troops to plunder all their property; and demanded from Mr. Charnock a large sum of money, as a recompence for the damage his country had sustained by the late hostilities. The agent, being neither in a condition to oppose him by arms, nor to appease him with money, sent two members of his Council to Dacca, to try if he might be softened by submission. They were directed to represent to him, that the object of settling at Suttanuttty was to avoid the frequent disputes which had arisen from the factory being situated in the town of Hoogly; and that the part of the river opposite that town allotted for the English vessels was choked up with sand, so as to be unfit for the purpose. They therefore requested permission to remain at Suttanuttty, and to be allowed to purchase from the Zemindar ground sufficient for their factory.

Such was the state of affairs in the month of October, when Captain Heath arrived with his reinforcements; but being a person of a very warm disposition, he was enraged at the duplicity of the Nuwab; and, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Mr. Charnock, he resolved to recommence the war.

To effect this measure, he ordered all the Company's servants to embark, with their moveable property, on board the fleet, at Suttanuttty; and, on the 8th of November, set sail for Ballasore. On his arrival in the roads, the Governor of the town offered to enter into terms with him, on the part of the Nuwab; but his proposition having been rejected, he seized two of the Company's factors, who resided there, and retained them as hostages against any acts of violence: notwithstanding which, and that the two English disputes were still at Dacca, as well as two other factors in different parts of the country, Captain Heath landed with a party of soldiers and seamen on the 29th of November, attacked and took a redoubt of thirty guns, and plundered the town of Ballasore. The English factory, on this occasion, was burned by the Governor; and the Company's servants, who had been previously taken prisoners, were carried up the country, where all subsequent efforts for their release were unavailing. This outrage was unfortunately committed on the very day that the Governor of Ballasore received a copy of the treaty which the Nuwab had made with the two deputies at Dacca, by which it was stipulated, that the English ships should co-operate with the Mogul army, in an attack upon the dominions of the King of Arracan.

After the troops and seamen had glutted themselves with the plunder of Ballasore, Captain Heath set sail with his fleet, on,

the 13th of December, for Chittagong, where they arrived on the 17th of the month of January 1690; but finding the works and garrison much stronger than they expected, a council of war was assembled, in which it was agreed to delay proceeding to further hostilities, and again to write to the Nuwab at Dacca, stating their grievances and demands, and to await his answer, whether he would redress them, or compel them to make use of the power then in their hands.

Captain Heath, however, instead of waiting for the Nuwab's answer, or endeavouring to seize on Chittagong, proceeded with the fleet to the entrance of the river which leads to the city of Arracan, where he arrived on the 31st of January; and, according to the instructions received from the Company, sent proposals to the King, offering to co-operate with him against the Moguls, provided he would grant the English a settlement in his dominions. But nearly a fortnight having elapsed without his receiving an answer, and not being of a temper to brook the procrastination of an Indian administration, he at suddenly took disgust against this new ally: and, on the 13th of February, without waiting for the result of his proposals, sailed away with the whole fleet, consisting of fifteen ships (having the Bengal Governor and Council, with the Company's effects, on board,) and arrived at Madras on the 4th of March, where he apologized to the Governor of Fort St. George for his conduct, by saying that nothing but falsehoods had been told on either side.

As the English had completely set at defiance the authority of the Emperor, Aurungzebe, by fortifying both Bombay and Madras, and by extending their territories in the vicinity of these places, and had also captured a number of his ships, and had even entered into an alliance with his most inveterate enemy, the Mahratta chief Sambagee, it cannot be deemed surprising that the haughty mind of that monarch was much incensed against them: he, in consequence, issued orders to his commanders to extirpate the English from his dominions; and to seize or destroy all their property, wherever it might be found. It was in obedience to these orders, that the factory at Masulipatam was seized by the governor of that district; and that the warehouses of Vizagapatam were plundered, and all the English gentlemen put to death.

The Nuwab, Shaista Khan, was also under the necessity of complying with the Emperor's orders, so far as to sequester the whole of the English property in Bengal, and to place the Company's agents at Dacca in irons. Other authorities, however, lead us to suppose, that it was not Shaista Khan, but the person who officiated as Governor after his departure, named, Behادر Khan, that committed this act of severity.

We are not informed of the precise time, but it was about this period that the Nuwab, Shaiста Khan, being far advanced in years, and anxious to return to his native country, obtained permission to resign the government of Bengal: Notwithstanding his harsh conduct to Europeans, his memory is to this day spoken of with the highest respect in that province. It is related, that, during his government, grain was so cheap that rice was sold at the rate of 640lbs. weight for the rupee; to commemorate which event, as he was leaving Dacca, he ordered the western gate, through which he departed, to be built up, and an inscription to be placed thereon, interdicting any future Governor from opening it, till he had reduced the price of grain to the same rate: in consequence of which injunction, the gate remained closed till the government of the Nuwab Serferaz Khan.

Several of the public buildings erected by Shaiста Khan are yet to be seen at Dacca; which city is still called, by the Mohammedans, Jehangirenagur.

Shaiста Khan died at Agra in the year of the Hejira 1105, much regretted by the Emperor and a numerous circle of friends.

NUWAB IBRAHIM KHAN.

Ibrahim Khan appointed to the government—His character—Invites the English to return to Bengal—Mr. Charnock and his Council arrive at Suttanuttty, and are graciously received—The Nuwab forwards the Emperor's passport for the English to trade duty free—The English still dissatisfied—Soobha Sing Zemindar rebels—joined by the Afghan chief, Rehim Khan—The rebel army advance to Burdwan—Defeat and kill the Raja—The circumstance reported to the Governor, who orders Nur Allah, Foujedar of Jessore, to punish the rebels—The Foujedar shuts himself up in Hoogly—The rebels lay siege to, and take, that town—The Dutch, French, and English, obtain permission to fortify their factories—The Dutch Governor of Chinsura assists the Royalists to retake Hoogly—The rebels retreat to Saalgong.

UPON the final resignation of Shaiста Khan, the Emperor selected, for the government of Bengal, Ibrahim Khan, son of the celebrated Persian nobleman, Aly Murdan Khan, who delivered up the fortress of Candahar to the Emperor Shah Jehan: this chief was, in character, the very reverse of his father; he administered justice with strict impartiality, and

SKETCHES OF BENGAL.

encouraged agriculture and commerce, but was totally deficient of all military abilities;

The first act of his authority, after assuming the government, was one most congenial to his feelings, viz. the liberation of the Company's agents who were confined at Dacca; for as we have seen, in the preceding chapter, that the English, in consequence of the oppression they had sustained from the Nuwab Shaista Khan, had entirely abandoned Bengal, it now also became a pleasing part of his duty to conciliate and recall the merchants of that nation.

It has been before stated, that the Emperor, being highly incensed against the English, had commanded them, to be expelled from every part of his dominions: but as Aurungzebe ever made his passions subservient to his policy, and was sensible that he derived a considerable aid to his revenue by the commerce carried on by the English; also, that their ships of war could much annoy his subjects, and prevent all intercourse between his dominions, and Arabia, thereby putting a stop to the pilgrims visiting Mecca,—impressed with these ideas, he, in the month of January 1691, whilst encamped at Viziapore, in the Dekkan, authorized his ministers to form a treaty with Messrs. Weldon and Navarro, two English Commissioners, who had been sent from Bombay by Sir John Child, the Director-general of the Company's settlements, to solicit peace; and upon the appointment of Ibrahim Khan to the government of Bengal, the Emperor instructed him to invite the English to return to that province.

In consequence of this permission, the Nuwab wrote letters, addressed to Mr. Charnock at Madras, inviting him to return, and re-establish all the Company's factories; with an assurance of a perfect oblivion of every thing which had passed, and that the English should be placed on a footing with the most favoured foreign nation: but Mr. Charnock and his Council were aware, from the deceptions which had been before practised, that, admitting the Nuwab to be sincere in his offers, they should still be exposed to the vexatious demands of the inferior officers, and to the avarice and oppressions of his successors; and being also displeased at the humiliating firman which had lately been issued for Surat; they therefore replied, that they could not accede to the proposition, unless the Emperor would grant to the Company a *specific firman* for Bengal, stating the precise terms upon which they were in future to carry on their trade.

A second letter was written by the Nuwab to Mr. Charnock, informing him that he had made an application to the Emperor for the desired firman; but that as several months must elapse before it could be procured, he might, in the

meantime, return, and be assured of his friendship and protection. In consequence of this invitation, Mr. Charnock, with his Council and factors, attended by an escort of thirty soldiers; returned, on the 24th of the month of August, 1691 to Suttanuttie; where, in obedience to the Nuwab's orders, addressed to Meer Aly Akbar, the governor of Hooghly, they were received with much civility.

The next year, the Nuwab forwarded to Mr. Charnock, according to his promise, a *hush al hookum*, or order, from the Emperor Aurungzebe, authorizing the English to trade to Bengal without paying any other duty than an annual present of 3000 rupees. However advantageous this licence may be considered in a pecuniary light, it fell far short of the expectation of the Company's agents, who were still left exposed to the oppressions of the Nuwab or his inferior officers, and had no security for their personal safety. It was therefore their opinion, that, unless a fortification could be procured, with a district round it, perfectly exempted from the jurisdiction of the Nuwab, the commerce of the Company could never prosper; they, for these reasons, only established a factory at Suttanuttie; and sent agents to make purchases in different parts of the country.

The year of the Hejira 1104 was marked by an extraordinary circumstance. The Grand Signior, having been informed that the Europeans procured great quantities of one of the ingredients for making gunpowder from India, wrote to Aurungzebe, to desire he would no longer permit his subjects to dispose of that article to Christians, as it was frequently used by them in the destruction of the followers of Mohammed; that, therefore, whoever supplied them was accessory to the death of the true believers. In consequence of this request, the principal source of the East-India Company's commercial advantage was, for some time, cut off, by a strict injunction to the Governor of Bengal not to allow them to purchase or manufacture any more saltpetre.

Three years after this event, the commander of a large ship, belonging to the interlopers, or persons not licensed to trade to India, arriving in the Indian sea, commenced a system of piracy which was afterwards carried to such a height, under the celebrated Captain Kyd and his associates. This person seized two of the Mogul ships, which were going to Judda and Mocha with pilgrims. So gross an insult drew down upon the agents of the Dutch, French, and English nations, the vengeance of the Mogul government: their factories were all laid under sequestration, and a stop put to their trade in Bengal alone, owing to the clemency of the governor, Ibrahim Khan, the English agents were allowed their personal freedom.

and permitted to carry on their commercial proceedings in a secret manner*.

Such was the state of intercourse between the English and the Mogul government, when an accident occurred which enabled the former to obtain, without any remuneration, that object which neither bribes nor entreaties could before procure.

In the year 1107 of the Hejira, a Hindoo zemindar of Bengal, named Soobha Sing, who possessed the villages of Jetwa and Burdesh, in the district of Burdwan, being dissatisfied with the Raja of that place, invited Rehim Khan, an Afghan chief, who was then considered as the head of that clan remaining in Orissa, to join him in overturning the government. Having united their forces, they advanced to Burdwan, and, in a pitched battle, slew the Raja, Kishen Ram; and, with the exception of his son, seized his family and all his property.

This success inspired the rebels with great hopes, and induced a number of soldiers of fortune, and other vagabonds, to flock to their standard.

Jaggut Rai, the son of the Raja, having effected his escape to Dacca, laid his complaints before the Governor, who not considering the matter of much importance, contented himself with ordering Nur Allah, the Foujedar or military commandant of Jessore, to punish the insurgents. But that officer, who, instead of attending to his own business, had long employed himself in commerce and in amassing wealth, and possessed nothing of the military character but the name, having, after much loss of time, collected a few of the 3000 horse of which he was the commandant, marched from Jessore, and crossed the river; but on the approach of the rebels, he shut himself up in the fort of Hoogly, and implored assistance from the governor of the Dutch settlement of Chinsura. The rebels, convinced by this pusillanimous conduct that they had little to fear from the merchant soldier, advanced boldly, and laid siege to Hoogly: they carried on their attacks with such vigour, that the Foujedar became alarmed for his personal safety, and during the night, having crossed the river in a boat, made his escape to Jessore. The garrison, finding their commandant had fled, opened the gates; and the rebels got quiet possession of that opulent city without any loss.

On the breaking out of the rebellion, the three European settlements, viz. the Dutch at Chinsura, the French at Chandernagore, and the English at Sattarretty, hired a number of

* In January 1692, Mr. Charnock died, and was succeeded by Mr. Ellis; but Bengal was again, by the Company's orders, made subordinate to Madras. Mr. Charnock's tomb is still to be seen, in good order, in the Calcutta church-yard.

the native soldiery to guard their property ; and, professing themselves the avowed friends of government, requested permission from the Nawab to put their factories into a state of defence against an enemy whose resentment they must incur by their adherence to him. The Nuwab ordered them, in general terms, to defend themselves ; and they, taking for granted what was not positively forbidden, with great diligence raised walls with bastions round their factories.

Such was the origin of the three European forts, or towns, of Chinsura, Chandernagore, and Calcutta ; and they were the first which the Mogul government suffered foreigners to build in any part of their empire ; for neither the territories of Madras nor Bombay had been subdued by the Moguls previous to these places having been ceded to the English.

The rebels now assumed a haughty tone, and sent out detachments to every part of the country, to plunder all those who refused to join them. This proceeding caused the greatest consternation among the rich and well-disposed inhabitants. All those on the western side of the river, who could obtain admittance, took refuge in Chinsura. At length, the Governor of that place, touched with compassion for their misery, and hoping to recommend himself and nation to the Emperor, fitted out two ships of war ; and, having embarked a number of European soldiers on board them, anchored in a short time opposite Hoogly.

The rebels, ignorant of the intentions of the Dutch, hurried to the ramparts, to watch the motions of the ships ; but were saluted with such a shower of both cannon and musquet balls, that they hastily abandoned the town, and retreated to Saatgong, formerly the Royal port of Bengal.*

From Saatgong, the zemindar, Soobha Sing, detached Rehim Khan, with the principal part of his army, to take possession of Nuddeah, and Mukhsoodabad, now called Moorshedabad, and returned himself to Burdwan.

* Saatgong is thus described by Major Rennel, in his Memoir of the Map of Hindoostan.

" Saatgong, or Satagong, now an inconsiderable village, on a small creek of the Hoogly river, about four miles to the north-west of Hoogly, was, in 1566, and probably later, a large trading city, in which the European merchants had their factories. At that time, Saatgong river was capable of bearing small vessels ; and I suspect that its then course, after passing Saatgong, was by way of Adaumpore, Omptah, and Tamlook ; and the river called the Old Ganges was a part of its course, and received that name whilst the circumstance was fresh in the memory of the people. Saatgong was known to the Romans, by the name of Ganges Regia. It is a famous place of worship, and was formerly the residence of the Kings of the country, and said to have been of an immense size. See Asiatic Researches, vol. V. p. 278.—See also Rennel's Memoir of the Map of Hindoostan, p. 45.

Amongst the captives which were taken in Burdwan, was a beautiful virgin, a daughter of the Raja, whom the Zemindar kept in confinement until an opportunity should offer of sacrificing her to his lust. The time was now arrived, when he thought he might gratify his vile passion with impunity: he secretly entered her apartment, and endeavoured to obtain by force what he could not effect by flattery and entreaty: but when he folded her in his arms, the girl drew from her clothes a sharp knife which she had concealed for the purpose, and stabbed him in the belly; she then turned the weapon against herself, and, with mistaken heroism, but high sense of honour, pierced her own heart. The wretch lived but a few hours, and was succeeded in his estate and power by his brother, Himmutsing, who exerted himself to the utmost in ravaging and plundering all those persons of opulence, who would not join in the rebellion.

SULTAN AZEEM OOSHAN.

The prince Azeem Ooshan, appointed to the government of the three provinces—Marches from the Dekhan to Allahabad—Orders the Governor of Oude, and Zemindars of Benaras and Behar, to join him—Arrives at Patna—Commands Zuberdust Khan not to risk another engagement with the rebels, till he should join him—Zuberdust Khan cantons his army at Burdwan—The Prince stops at Mongier—Advances to Burdwan—Affronts Zuberdust Khan by the coolness of his reception—The General quits the army in disgust—The rebels re-assemble, and encamp in the vicinity of Burdwan—The Dutch and English send agents to the Prince, to solicit further extension of their privileges—The Prince makes amicable overtures to the rebels, who agree to submit, provided Khuaje Anwar, the Prince's minister, is sent to assure them of safety—The rebels murder the Khuaje, and attack the Royal camp; but are defeated, and their chief, Rehim Shah, killed; after which the others submit—The Prince establishes his residence in Burdwan—Devotes his attention to the affairs of the province—Builds a mosque in Burdwan, and a new bazar in Hoogly—Regulates the customs of the port—Anecdote of a celebrated Dervish—The Prince interferes between the Fauxs, dars of Hoogly, and the English, respecting the appointment of a Cazy, or Mohammedan Judge, to Calcutta—The Prince proceeds to Dacca—wishes to make a monopoly of the foreign trade—severely reprimanded by the Emperor—

The King of England sends an Ambassador to the Court of Aurungzebe—the Ambassador lands at Masulipatam, but afterwards proceeds to Surat, and lands there—Sets out for the Mogul camp—Obtains an audience of the Emperor—graciously received, and orders issued for preparing the Firmans—Intelligence received that an English pirate had taken three of the Mogul ships—The Ambassador required to give security against similar aggressions—refuses—The negociation broken off—The Ambassador quits the Mogul camp—sails from Surat—dies—The Emperor, incensed at the English, orders all the Europeans in his dominions to be confined—Origin and rise of Moorshud Cooly Jaffer Khan—Appointed Dewan of Bengal—Description of the officers of Nazim and of Dewan—Moorshud Cooly enters with assiduity upon his employment—Dissensions between him and the Prince—The latter accused of attempting to assassinate the Dewan—The Dewan removes his residence to Mukhsoodabad—The Emperor, displeased with the Prince, orders him to quit Bengal, and to reside in Behar—The Prince proceeds to Rajmahel, and afterwards to Patna, where he establishes his residence, and gives his own name to that city—In consequence of the Emperor's orders, the English at Patna and Rajmahel are confined—The inhabitants of Calcutta threatened—The Dewan demands the original firmans—The English, having lost theirs, are obliged to bribe the Secretary—Benevolent conduct of the Prince—The Dewan proceeds to Court—Graciously received by the Emperor—Re-appointed Dewan of the three provinces, and deputy of the Prince in Bengal and Orissa—State of the English affairs in Bengal—Azeem Ooshan recalled to Court—Death of the Emperor Aurungzebe—Aazim Shah, the second son, mounts the throne, and marches towards Dehly—The Prince Azeem Ooshan arrives at Agra—Receives intelligence of the Emperor's death—Endeavour to seize Agra for his father—Disappointed in getting the fort, but secures the district—Seizes the Bengal revenue—Levies an army—Meeting between him and his father, Shah Alum—The Governor delivers up the fort of Agra to the latter, who soon after marches to meet Aazim Shah—Battle between the brothers—Aazim Shah, and both his sons, killed—Shah Alum takes the title of Behadur Shah—Appoints his son, Azeem Ooshan, governor of the four provinces, of Allahabad, Behar, Bengal, and Orissa; but orders him to retain Moorshud Cooly Khan, as his deputy in the two latter provinces—The Prince continues to reside at Court, but appoints Syed Abdullah Khan to be his deputy in Allahabad, and Syed Hussein Aly Khan to be his deputy in Behar—

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the Prince's special Nishan, on order, for freedom of trade, without the payment of any duties.

Mr. Walsh arrived in the Prince's camp, at Burdwan, in January 1698; but owing to the interruption of business by the war against the rebels, and various other procrastinations, he did not effect the object of his mission till the month of July; when, at length, by the payment of a considerable sum of money, the Prince's order for the purchase of the lands was forwarded to Suttanuttty; but on being shewn to the zemindars of the three villages, they refused to make over the lands, as the order was not countersigned by the King's Dewan. This circumstance caused a further delay; and it was the end of the year before the business was settled to the satisfaction of the English: nor did they receive the Prince's order for freedom of trade till the month of January 1700*.

From this digression we return to the account of the war, as given by the native historian.

When Azeem Oshan was informed of the proceedings of the rebels, instead of attacking them with vigour, he had the weakness to send a letter to Rehim Shah, admonishing him to return to his duty, with a promise of forgiveness, and of being taken into the Royal favour if he complied. The rebel received the letter with hypocritical marks of respect; and returned a verbal message, "That if the Prince would send to him Khruje Anyur, his chief counsellor, with assurances of safety, he would come and pay his devoirs to his Royal Highness."†

The Prince, whose disposition was open and sincere, gave his enemy credit for an equal degree of candour; and ordered Khruje Anyur to proceed early the next morning to the Afghan camp, and bring the rebel chief to his presence. The Khruje, reposing the same confidence as the Prince did in the assurances of Rehim Shah, advanced, with a small party of attendants, to the boundaries of his camp; and sent a message that he was there, ready to give him the required assurances of safety, and to conduct him to the presence of the Prince.

* It was during this period that the great contest between the two English Companies took place in Bengal. The Prince could not understand the subject, but took bribes from both parties: from the Old Company he got 12,000 rupees; and from the New, 14,000.

† Governor Eyre, in his letter dated January 6, 1698, states, it was reported that the Prince sent the rebel chief a pair of shackles and a sword, desiring him to take his choice: that the rebel took the sword; but sent a polite message to the Prince, pointing out to him the great age of the Emperor, the contentions that must ensue upon his death, and the favourable opportunity that was now presented to his Highness, of securing for himself the rich province of Bengal, by taking into his favour and service the Afghans, whose friendship he would find not less serviceable than their enmity would prove formidable. East-India Records, vol. XIX. page 253.

Whether Rehim Shah had changed his mind during the night, or wished to be more highly honoured in the sight of his followers, he insisted that the Khuaje should come to his tent; and there, in the presence of witnesses, repeat the Prince's invitation and assurances of safety. But the Khuaje, suspecting some treachery, declined going into the camp, and attempted to return home. He was pursued by a party of the Afghans; and after defending himself to the last extremity, he and all his attendants were cut to pieces.

After this atrocious act of villainy, Rehim Shah, convinced that he had nothing to expect from the clemency of the Prince, ordered his troops to mount, and to make a sudden and vigorous attack on the Royal camp.

This movement was executed with such rapidity, that Azeem Ooshan had barely time to mount his elephant before he was surrounded by a party of the Afghans, headed by their chief, Rehim Shah; and would certainly have been taken prisoner, had not a brave Arab officer, named Hamid Khan, called out, that he was the Prince, and challenged the Afghans to single combat; at the same moment discharging an arrow which penetrated the rebel's side: a second arrow from his hand wounded his antagonist's horse in the head, who thereon reared up, and threw his rider on the ground: the Arab instantly dismounted, and, having cut off Rehim Shah's head, held it up on the point of his lance.

The Afghans, seeing the catastrophe of their chief, were struck with panic, and fled on all sides. After which they offered to submit to the Prince, provided he would take them into his service; which being agreed to, a general amnesty was passed, and peace restored to the harassed province.

After this unexpected victory, the Prince proceeded to the tomb of Shah Ibrahim Sukka*, in the vicinity of Burdwan: and having returned thanks to the Almighty for his success, he ordered a large sum of money to be distributed, in alms, to the poor and religious persons who attended on the shrine of the Saint. He then entered the city, and took up his residence in the fort, which at that period was considered a place of some strength.

The Prince continued to reside for a considerable time in Burdwan: during which period he directed his attention to repairing the injuries that had been committed by the rebels, and in bringing back the inhabitants of those districts, who

* This person was originally a water-carrier; but having associated with the Soodies, he became a celebrated author of poems and religious works. After his death he was canonized, and his tomb is still resorted to by pilgrims.

had been compelled to abandon their homes. He restored Juggut Roy, the son of the murdered Raja, to his zemindary of Burdwan; and recompensed all those persons, who having remained firm in their allegiance, had been dispossessed of their lands by the rebels. For the brave Hamid Khan he procured, from the Emperor, the title of Shumshere Khan Behadur, and the office of Foujedar, or military commander, of the districts of Bundasil and Silhet: he also liberally rewarded all the other officers who had distinguished themselves on this occasion. During the period that Azeem Ooshan resided at Burdwan, he built, in that city, a public mosque: he also caused to be constructed, in Hoogly, a new *bazar*, to which he gave the name of Shah Gunge; but the people, in compliment to him, called it Azeem Gunge. He regulated the customs of the port of Hoogly at two and a half per cent. on all goods belonging to Mohammedans; but compelled the Hindoos* to pay five, and the Christians three and a half, per cent. on their merchandise. He also established the inland duties, called *sair*, upon various commodities passing from one place to another, in the interior of the country. In short, the Prince devoted much of his time to the performance of the duties of his office, and to the improvement of the revenues. He also every day allotted several hours to the conversation of the learned and religious, and had frequently passages from the best authors read to him: He often visited the hermits and dervishes, and solicited their prayers for his succession to the throne.

One day the Prince sent his two sons, Kereem Addeen and Ferrokhsere, to visit a celebrated Soofy †, named Bayezid, and to request that the holy man would take the trouble of coming to the palace. Upon their arrival near the Saint's dwelling, Ferrokhsere alighted from his horse; and approaching, in the most respectful manner, paid his compliments, and delivered his father's message, whilst the other brother scarcely deigned to return the Soofy's salutation.

The Saint was much irritated at the conduct of Kereem Addeen, and highly pleased by the humility of Ferrokhsere: he therefore took the latter by the hand, and causing him to sit down beside him, blessed him, and said to him, "To you is this day given the empire of Hindoostan." He soon after arose, and accompanied the youths to the palace.

When Azeem Ooshan was informed of the approach of the Soofy, he arose from his seat, and advanced to meet him; and after having made many apologies for the trouble he had given him, seated him on his own musnud. He shortly after

* The English were exempted from this duty, as they paid a specific sum annually.

† Hermit, or Monk. There are several orders of them.

communicated to the Saint the object of his wishes; and supplicated his prayers, that he might one day succeed to the throne. The Saint with great dignity replied, "Alas! what you desire has already been given to your Son Ferrokhser: the arrow of my prayer has been shot from the bow, and cannot be recalled." He then arose, bade the Prince adieu, and retired to his cell; leaving Azeem Ooshan quite discomfited by his prediction, to which he gave much credit, and which, in the sequel, was realized.

The villages of Suttanutty, Govindpore, and Calicotta, which, in virtue of the Prince's Nishan, had been purchased from the zemindars, with their districts, extended about three miles on the eastern side of the Bhaggarutty river, and about one mile inland. The latter of these villages takes its name from a temple dedicated to Caly, the Hindoo goddess of time; and from it the English called their town Calcutta.

In the year 1699-1700, the factory of Calcutta, which, in consequence of the fortifications that had been added to it during the rebellion, was dignified by the appellation of a Fortress, was named, in compliment to the King of England, Fort William: and, as a number of opulent natives, in consequence of the security given to their property, and facility to their trade, had been induced to build houses in the town, and make it their residence, its prosperity excited the jealousy of the Foujedar of Hoogly, who, pretending that he should be punished for suffering so many of the Mogul subjects to withdraw themselves from his jurisdiction, threatened to send a Oazy, or Mohammedan judge, and officers of the police, to administer justice amongst the natives living under the protection of the English flag: but as this measure would have submitted the English to the same inconveniences which they had formerly suffered at Hoogly, it was counteracted by a bribe sent to the Prince, who forbade the Governor of Hoogly from proceeding in his intentions. By this constant attention to the accumulation of wealth, Azeem Ooshan is said to have carried with him, out of the province, three millions of pounds sterling in specie, and jewels to a very great amount.

The Prince, after a residence of nearly three years in Burdwan, having regulated the affairs of the western part of Bengal to his satisfaction, ordered the state-boats which had been built during the government of Sultan Shujaa, to be collected in the vicinity of Hoogly; and embarking at that place, proceeded with great pomp to Dacca, and took possession of the Royal palace.

By the advice of some narrow-sighted politician, the Prince was induced, about this time, to adopt a measure which not only gave great disgust to the commercial part of the com-

munity, but drew on him the displeasure of the Emperor-Auzungzebe.

The Prince wished to become the sole merchant of all European and foreign goods brought to Bengal; he therefore established agents at all the ports, with authority to purchase the cargo of every ship that arrived, at a low price; and afterwards retail the goods to the merchants at a considerable profit. To this species of commerce was assigned the epithets of *Soudai Khas* and *Soudai Aam*, special and general purchases.

He also, in order to gain popularity with the Hindoos, celebrated their holydays; putting on yellow and rose-coloured garments, and entering into the sports which are practised on the anniversary of the return of spring.

When, through the medium of the newspapers, the Emperor received information of the Prince's conduct, he wrote him, with his own hand, a letter replete with irony and sarcasm; observing, that a yellow turban, and rose-coloured garments, suited but ill with a beard of forty-six years' growth. He also explained that the monopoly, which he had dignified with the name of *Soudai Khas*, was nothing less than individual insanity and public oppression*; and to evince to his subjects that he would not sanction any act of injustice, even by his sons or grand-children, he struck off 500 horse from the Prince's military rank.

The great confusion occasioned in India by the contest between the rival English Companies, and the depredations of the pirates, induced his Majesty, King William, in the year 1698-9, to depute Sir William Norris as his Ambassador to the Court of the Emperor of Hindoostan. The object of this mission was to solicit *firmans*, or privileges, for the English nation; and to render the *New*, or English Company, its representative in India.†

The Ambassador landed at Masulipatam on the 25th of Sept. 1699; where he was detained by various obstacles, arising chiefly from the jarring interests of two Companies belonging to the same nation, till the end of the following year; and not being permitted to pursue his journey to the Emperor's camp by Golcondah, he proceeded by sea to Surat, and landed at that port on the 10th of December, 1700; but owing to the intrigues of Sir John Gayer, the agent of the *Old* or London Company, the Governor of Surat refused to receive Sir William Norris as the Ambassador of the English nation, unless he could produce his credentials, signed by his Majesty. These having

* In Persian, *Souda* means traffic; but in Arabic, madness.

† See Bruce's *Annals of the East-India Company*, A. D. 1698-9.

been produced, the Ambassador landed, and was received by Sir Nicholas Waite, the Consul of the *New Company*, with great respect.

On the 26th of January 1701, the Ambassador set out on his journey towards the Emperor's camp, with a retinue of sixty Europeans and 300 natives.* On the 3d of March he reached Erampore; at which place it became expedient to visit the vizier Gazy Addeen Khan, one of the viziers who happened to be there. Some time was spent in adjusting the ceremonies; but the Ambassador, requiring to be admitted to a conference, preceded by drums, trumpets, &c. which the Vizier refused, as being inconsistent with Eastern usages on such occasions, the Ambassador held this refusal to be derogatory from his dignity, and left Erampore without having any conference with the Vizier; and on the 7th of April reached Pernalla, near which the camp of Aurungzebe was situated: and as soon as he had notified his arrival, he was permitted to pitch his tents in the vicinity of the Royal residence.

On the 28th of April the Ambassador obtained his first audience, and was most graciously received. He, in consequence, made an application to the Emperor to issue *firmans* for freedom of trade to the *New Company*. His Majesty condescendingly promised that he would give orders to his viziers on the subject. Sometime after, the Ambassador had a second audience, and presented the Emperor with 200 gold *mohurs*; and the business seemed to be in a fair train of success, when intelligence arrived from Surat, that three Mogul ships, coming from Mocha, had been captured by an English pirate: in consequence of this information, the Viziers demanded that the Ambassador should not only give security for the return of these ships, but that he should guarantee the future safety of the Mogul commerce against pirates of every description. The Ambassador declined entering into this stipulation; and was thereon informed, that "he knew his way back to England." Considering this answer as a dismissal from the Court, Sir William Norris desired passes to be issued for his safe return to Surat; and on the morning of the 5th of November quitted the Mogul camp.

Some efforts were made by the Viziers to induce the Ambassador to alter his resolution; and he was forcibly detained at Erampore, till a letter, and a sword, for the King of England, from Aurungzebe, arrived.

* An account of the procession, and list of the presents, may be found in Bruce's *Annals of the East-India Company*, A. D. 1700-1, page 462.

On the 7th of January, 1702, Sir William Norris was permitted to continue his journey, and arrived at Surat on the 12th of April. On the 29th of the same month, he embarked on board the *Scipio*, and a few days afterwards sailed for England; but died before the ship reached St. Helena.

In consequence of the abrupt termination of the negotiation, and the continued depredations of the pirates, the Emperor was much incensed, and gave command that every European in his dominions should be seized, and thrown into prison*.

It now becomes requisite to relinquish, for a time, the affairs of the English, and of Azeem Ooshan; and to introduce to the reader a character, who, in the sequel, will make a conspicuous figure in the transactions of Bengal. This person was the son of a poor Brahman†, and, during his youth, was purchased by a Persian merchant, named Hajy Shuffia, who took him to Ispahan, and, having circumcised him, changed his name to Mohammed Hady, and educated him as one of his own children. Upon the death of the merchant, his heirs manumitted the youth, and permitted him to proceed to the Dekkan; where, soon after his arrival, he obtained an inferior employment in the service of Hajy Abdullah, Dewan, (superintendent of the revenues) of Berar: in this situation he evinced such a knowledge of accounts, and expertness in business, that within a few years he was recommended to the Emperor Aurungzebe, as a fit person to fill the office of Dewan of Hyderabad, then vacant: he was in consequence appointed to that office, and dignified with the title of Kar Tulb Khan.

A continuation of the same line of conduct which had recommended him to the Emperor, induced that monarch to nominate Kar Tulb Khan, in the year 1113, to the important office of Dewan of Bengal, with the title of Moorshud Cooly Khan; under which name he will be continued throughout this History‡.

During the despotic reign of Aurungzebe, the offices of Nazim (military governor) and Dewan were kept perfectly

* The failure of this embassy was, in part, owing to the animosity existing between the Old and New Companies: all of which are fully detailed in Mr. Bruce's *Annals*; and I have therefore purposely avoided entering into any discussion on the subject. Happily for the repose of all parties, these dissensions were terminated by the union of the two Companies in 1702-3; but the adjustment of their respective affairs was not completed till the year 1708, when they took the title of The United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies.

† See *Musair al-Omrab*.

‡ By Mr. Orme he is called Jaffier Khan; and by Mr. Gladwin, and the translator of the *Sier al Mutakhereen*, sometimes Jaffier Khan, and at other times Moorshud Cooly. But as a second Jaffier Khan will appear in the pages of this History, I have thought it better to let him retain the title of Moorshud Cooly Khan throughout.

distinct : the business of the former was to defend and protect the country from foreign insult or domestic insurrections, and to enforce a strict obedience to the laws : to the latter was assigned the collection of the revenues, and the disbursements of all the requisite expenses*. He was, in a certain degree, subject to the orders of the Nazim ; being obliged to comply with all written orders, for money, from that officer, for the service of government : but the Nazim was responsible to the exchequer for any improper use of that power : he received his regular salary from the Dewan, and was not entitled to any further emolument from his office. These two officers were, however, commanded to consult with each other, upon all important affairs : and to act in concert upon every public emergency, according to the regulations which from time to time were issued.

Moorshud Cooly Khan, soon after his appointment, proceeded to Dacca, and entered with alacrity upon the business of his office. He found that the country was rich and productive, but that the public revenue had been absorbed in improper channels. He therefore appointed his own collectors to the different districts ; and in a short period ascertained that the revenue amounted to one crore (ten millions) of rupees.

During the superintendence of former Dewans, the greater part of Bengal had, from the idea of its being an unhealthy and unproductive country, been made over to military jagierdars,† ; and only a small proportion of it remained under the immediate controul of the exchequer ; its revenue therefore had not even sufficed to pay the Nazim, and military and civil establishments : in consequence of which, money was frequently drawn from the other Soubahs, to liquidate the debts of Bengal. The first act of Moorshud Cooly's authority was, to request the Emperor to cancel all the jagiers of Bengal ; and to assign to the officers lands in Orissa ; and other districts ; where the hand of authority, aided by private influence and superintendence, was required to enforce the collections.

His suggestions were readily attended to ; and all the assignments on lands, except the stipends of the Nizamut and Dewanry, were transferred to Orissa. By this means the whole of the Zemindars, or Hindoo landholders, were placed under the immediate controul of the Dewan, who, by his authority, enforced a very considerable rise on their rents, and thereby much augmented the revenue of the state.

* A copy of the Dewan's commission may be found in the Appendix to the 3d volume of Dow's History of Hindoostan.

† Possessors of lands, held by assignment from the Crown for particular services.

This conduct acquired for Moorshud Cooly Khan great celebrity at Court; but the haughty spirit of the Prince, Azeem Ooshan, could ill brook the constant interference, in all pecuniary transactions, of the Dewan, and his frequent opposition to his Royal Highness's commands. Beside these causes, the Prince was exceedingly jealous of the high favour in which Moorshud Cooly stood with the Emperor; and the courtiers and favourites of the Prince, whose extravagance, or assumed powers, were constantly controuled by the Dewan, fanned the flame, and added fuel to his already exasperated temper: Azeem Ooshan was therefore exceedingly anxious to get rid of his rival, if it could be effected without risking the displeasure of the Emperor.

As in the East there have been at all times found people ready to commit the most daring acts, or to perpetrate the most atrocious murders, when supported by the hand of power, or bribed by the temptation of wealth; an officer, named Abdal Vahid, commanding a long-established corps of horse, called Nukedy, who were entitled to their pay monthly from the treasury, and therefore looked with contempt on the other troops paid by assignments on the zemindars,—and who were, besides, noted for their insolence and contempt of all authority,—proposed to the Prince to assassinate the Dewan, if he would ensure to him, or to his heirs, a large sum of money. The offer having been accepted, Abdal Vahid ordered his men to waylay the Dewan, the next time he came to pay his respects to the Prince.

An opportunity soon after offered: the Dewan, who was never deficient in etiquette and respect to the Viceroy, left his house one morning, to pay his obeisance at the palace; but before he had gotten half way, his retinue was stopped in the street by a large body of the Nukedy regiment, who, in a clamorous manner, demanded their pay. The Dewan, who always went abroad well armed, and was attended by a considerable number of armed followers, immediately jumped out of his palanquin; and, drawing his sword, commanded his attendants to clear the road, and drive those fellows away. The Nukedies, seeing his resolution and firmness, shrunk back, and allowed him to proceed unmolested to the palace; where, as soon as he entered, he loudly accused the Prince of being the author of this conspiracy. He then seated himself, in a rude and indecorous manner, opposite to him; and putting his hand to his dagger, said, "If you want my life, here let us

* This building, called the Poosteh, is still in existence, and is inhabited by the chief civil servant at Dacca.

try the contest : if otherwise, take care that nothing of this kind ever again occurs."

The Prince alarmed by his threats, and dreading the severe justice of the Emperor, was very much agitated ; and after protesting his innocence in the most solemn manner, sent for Abdal Vahid, and severely reprimanded him for the flagitious conduct of his men, threatening him with the severest marks of his displeasure if they were ever again guilty of such disorderly behaviour : these excuses did not, however, satisfy the Dewan ; he proceeded immediately to the Public Hall of Audience, and, having sent for Abdal Vahid, examined into the arrears due to the corps ; and, after giving him an assignment for the amount, on one of the zemindars, discharged him and his regiment from the Imperial service.

Moorshud Cooly then returned home ; and having drawn out a statement of all the circumstances, had it authenticated by the signatures of the public officers ; and forwarded it, with a representation from himself, to the Emperor.

After acting in so spirited and independent a manner, Moorshud Cooly deemed it unadvisable to remain in the same place with the Prince ; and having consulted with his friends on the most advantageous situation, he resolved to fix his residence at Mukhsoodabad, as being nearly in the centre of the province, and equally convenient for collecting the revenues from all parts. Having decided on this measure, he left Dacca without taking leave of the Viceroy, and carrying with him all the public officers attached to the Dewany, proceeded to Mukhsoodabad ; the name of which, in order to commemorate this event, he some years afterwards changed to Moorshudabad ; thus to hand down his own name to posterity.

When the well-authenticated statement of the disturbance at Dacca, and the attempt on the life of the Dewan, reached the Emperor, who was then in the Dekkan, he sent an order to Azeem Ooshan, severely reprimanding him ; and threatening him, that if the smallest injury was offered, either to the person or to the property of Moorshud Cooly Khan, he, although his grandchild, should be answerable for it. He further commanded the Prince immediately to quit Bengal, and to fix his residence in the province of Behar.

Azeem Ooshan knew too well the arbitrary disposition of his grandfather to attempt any justification of his conduct, or to procrastinate his departure : he therefore appointed his second son, Ferrokhsere, under the superintendence of Ser Balund Khan, to be his deputy in Dacca ; and embarking with the remainder of his family, and all the public officers, on board the government boats, proceeded to Rajmahal, and took possession of Sultan Shujaa's palace. The air of that

place, however, not agreeing with his family, he sometime after removed to Patna, the castle and fortification of which he repaired, and, by permission of the Emperor, changed the name of the city to Azeemabad; by which appellation it is still distinguished by all the followers of Mohammed.

It has been before stated, that, on the abrupt termination of Sir William Norris's embassy, the Emperor had issued orders to seize and confine every European in his dominions: in consequence of which, in the month of February 1702, the whole of the English settled at Patna and Rajmahel, with all their effects, were seized, to make good the damages done by the pirates: the amount of the property, however, proving inconsiderable, the Company's servants were confined for fifty-one days in the public jail, but were afterwards liberated on their parole. On the 30th of March the order was extended to all the European factories; and the loss of the English Company, on this occasion, amounted to sixty-two thousand rupees. In this month, also, the Foujedar of Hoogly is sued an order to seize all the Company's effects at Calcutta; but the President, Mr. Beard, having previous notice of his intentions, had so well prepared for his defence, that the Foujedar hesitated to attack the factory; and, by the private intervention of the Prince, who durst not openly oppose the Emperor's commands, at length desisted from his intentions. He, however, seized upon all the goods belonging to the Company which were coming down the river to Calcutta; but the spirited conduct of the English, on this occasion, by preventing any of the Mogul ships from passing down the river, obliged him to release the property.

During the whole of this business, the Prince Azeem Oosban evinced the greatest moderation; and would not have carried into effect the orders of the Emperor, had he not been goaded thereto by the Imperial Dewan. In the month of October, he sent orders to liberate the Company's agents confined at Rajmahel, and directed that they should be permitted to proceed to Calcutta; shortly after which, an order arrived from Court to take off the embargo on trade. On this occasion the Dewan relaxed in his severity, and offered freedom of trade to all the Europeans, provided they would make him and the Prince handsome presents, which the English refused. The Dewan, however, insisted upon the agents of the three European nations producing the original firmans upon which they claimed their privileges. The Dutch and French produced theirs; but the firman of Sultan Shujaa, having been lost, by one of the English agents in going to Madras, forty years before, the English were obliged to bribe the Dewan's secretary to let the matter drop.

Moorshud Cooly Khan, having fixed his residence at Mukhsoodabad, assembled there all the public officers of his department; and at the end of the year, having made up his accounts, in which was clearly exhibited the great increase he had made to the revenue of the provinces, prepared to set out for Court, in order personally to lay them before the Emperor: on presenting the papers, however, to the two Canoungoes*, whose counter-signatures were requisite for their being audited in the Imperial exchequer, one of them, named Dherp Narain, refused his signature, unless bribed by a present of three lacs of rupees; but the Dewan, conscious of the accuracy of his statement, refused his demand; and having obtained the signature of the other Canoungoe, notwithstanding his being on bad terms with the Prince, proceeded to the Imperial camp in the Dekkan; and having first presented the Emperor and his ministers with a very large sum of money, and a number of curiosities brought from Bengal, he then submitted his accounts to the Imperial exchequer: they were immediately audited by the Vizier, and much credit given to him for his exertions. He was, in consequence, dignified by the Emperor with a dress of honour, standards, and kettle-drums; and re-appointed to Bengal, as Dewan of the three provinces, and a deputy Nazim to the Prince in the provinces of Bengal and Orissa. This circumstance gave great offence to Azeem Ooshan; but knowing the despotic temper of his grandfather, he could only repine in silence.

In the year 1705-6, the union of the two East-India Companies having been nearly completed, the whole of the united property was deposited in Fort William; the garrison of which was augmented to the number of one hundred and thirty European soldiers; and a number of guns were mounted on the works. This display of strength does not appear to have given any offence to the Mogal government; but it inspired the native merchants with confidence, and induced many of them to go and settle in Calcutta, which, in consequence, had become a regular and populous town, and produced a considerable revenue; and being rendered independent of Madras, by the Company, rose highly in the estimation of the commercial world.

Such was the state of affairs in Bengal, when, the great age and bodily infirmities of the Emperor Aurungzebe† having

* Officers in the revenue department, subordinate to the Dewan. The word means, literally, *Expounder of the Regulations*.

† This monarch's title was properly *Aalungger* (Conqueror of the World); but as he is better known in Europe by the appellation *Behar* prince, it is retained in this History.

given rise to many intrigues for the succession to the empire, Sultan Mohammed Aazim, who for a short time governed Bengal, and who, although only the second surviving son of Aurungzebe, openly laid claim to the throne, and was, in fact, the favourite and intended heir of his father, being jealous of the great wealth possessed by his nephew, the Prince Azeem Ooshan, and the power which the government of the eastern provinces threw into his hands, procured his recall; and that prince, a few months before the death of the Emperor, having appointed his own son, Ferrokhsere, to be his representative in Bengal and Orissa, and Sir Balund Khan to be deputy-governor of Behar, proceeded towards Court.

Although the connection between Azeem Ooshan and the history of Bengal terminates with his departure from Patna; yet as the fate of that prince is not recorded in any regular history of India, it is presumed that an account of it will not be considered as uninteresting in this place.

The Emperor Aurungzebe Aalumgeer departed this life on the 28th of Zykaad (11th month) of the year of the Hejira 1118, in his camp, in the vicinity of Ahmednagar,* aged ninety-one years and thirteen days; having verbally made a division of his empire amongst his three sons. To the eldest, Mohammed Muazim, he assigned the provinces of Cabul, Lahore, and Moultaun; to the second, Mohammed Aazim (then called Aszim Shah), he gave the central parts of Hindoosian; and to the younger, Kam Bukhsh, the provinces of the South, or Dekkan.

The day after the death of the Emperor, his second son, Aazim Shah, entered the Imperial camp, and took possession of the Royal tents and treasures; and as soon as the funeral rites were performed, he mounted the throne, and gave audience to all the nobility, and officers of the army. He confirmed all the ministers of the late reign in their appointments; and, shortly afterwards, commenced his march towards Dehly, in order to secure the capital against his elder brother.

The Prince Azeem Ooshan, who had, by the Emperor's orders, left his government of Bengal to proceed to the presence, had taken the precaution to bring with him a considerable detachment of his best troops, and had reached the vicinity of Agra, when he heard of his grandfather's decease; upon which event he marched, with all expedition, to secure that city for his father, Mohammed Muazim, then known by the title of Shah Alaum, but the Governor of the province of

* Taken by General Wellesley during the late Mahratta war. The Emperor was buried there, close to the tomb of a Saint named Ziajal Abdeen.

Agra having united his daughter in marriage to the son of the prince Auzim Shah, resolved to oppose him ; and in order to impede his progress sunk all the boats in the river Jumna and erected batteries at the neighbouring fords. His efforts were, however, unavailing ; for Azeem Ooshan having marched, some distance up the banks of the river, crossed it and in a general engagement, defeated and took the Governor prisoner ; by which event, although he could not obtain possession of the fort, he became master of the province through which all the contending armies must pass. A short time after this event, having obtained intelligence that a convoy, with the year's revenue of Bengal, amounting to one crore of rupees (1,250,000*l.*) was advancing towards Agra, he sent off a detachment of cavalry, and succeeded in siezing it ; which circumstance proved, in the sequel, of the greatest importance to the success of his father.

Azeem Ooshan, having, besides, brought with him the immense sum of nearly eight crores of rupees* from Bengal immediately commenced levying troops, and upon the arrival of his father at Agra, mustered before him 30,000 well mounted cavalry†. Although Bakir Khan, the governor of the citadel of Agra, had refused to deliver it up to Azeem Ooshan, he did not hesitate a moment to send the keys to Shah Aalum, who, as the eldest son, he considered the legitimate heir to the empire.

The possession of that fortress was of the utmost consequences to Shah Aalum, as it not only afforded him a place of refuge for his family, but contained the whole of Shah Jehan's treasures, with warlike stores of every kind ; by the means of which he speedily refitted his army, and advanced to meet his rival and brother, the prince Aazim Shah.

The contending armies met on the plains of Jajoo, not many miles distant from Agra, , and as the command of the first line which bore the brunt of the battle, was entrusted to Azeem Ooshan, much of the success of the day may be attributed to his exertions. The result was, the total defeat of Aazim Shah's army, and the death of himself and his two sons Bedar Bukht and Vala Jah†. This event occurred, on the 11th of the month Rubby al Ayl 1119, A. D. 1707.

* A crore is 100 lacs, or 10,000,000.

† It may not be unnecessary here to remark, that the soldiers, under the native Princes of India, furnished their own horses and arms ; and that a number of them were always ready to join the standard of any person who could pay them.

† These events are recorded in the *Muntakhab al Lebab* of Khafy Khan, the *Sier Mutakhereen* of Syed Ghoolam Hussein, and *Memoirs of the Mogal Empire*, by Eradut Khan. For the latter work, which

After this victory, Shah Alum returned to Agra, and assumed the title of Behadur Shah and as a proof of his sense of the assistance he had received from his son Azem Ooshan, re-appointed him Governor of the province of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, to which was added the province of Allahabad, but as the Emperor was desirous of retaining him near his person, during the war against his own younger brother Kani Bukhsb, he directed him to confirm Moorshud Cooly Jaffer Khan, as his deputy in Bengal and Orissa; and to appoint such persons as he most esteemed to be his deputies in the other provinces. This circumstance enabled the Prince handsomely to reward two noblemen who had been useful to him on various occasions, and had particularly distinguished themselves in the late engagement. These two persons were brothers, and boasted the honour of being descended from the Arabian Prophet. To the eldest named Syed Abdullah Khan he gave the government of Allahabad; and to the younger, Syed Hussein Aly Khan, that of Behar. After these arrangements, the Prince constantly attended at Court and by his abilities and suavity of manners, gained a great influence over the mind of his father.

In the year 1124, A. D. 1712, the Emperor, who was then at Lahore, was taken ill of a fever, which affected his brain, and rendered him totally incapable of business: and as his eldest son, Moizaddeen, had for some time declined coming to Court, on account of the preference which his father gave to Azem Ooshan, all the affairs of the empire were, for some time, transacted by the Prince; which circumstance enabled him, upon the death of Behadur Shah, to take possession of the Royal treasure, jewels, and artillery, and to mount the throne. But having, by his pride and petulance, given offence to Zoolfeer Khan, the Ameer ul Omrah, and other officers, they took part with his three brothers*.

At this time the whole of the Imperial army was encamped in the vicinity of Lahore: the Emperor's tents were upon one side of the river (Ravi), and those of Azem Ooshan upon the opposite bank; but a constant communication was kept up between both, by means of boats: and as soon as the Emperor died, Azem Ooshan took possession of the Imperial tents. The ground of encampment of the three other princes was between the Emperor's tents and the town.

Had Azem Ooshan acted with promptitude, and immediately attacked his brothers, he would have probably been suc-

* In the best, see Scott's History of the Dekkan, in which the description of this battle will amuse every military reader.

* Their names were, Moizaddeen, Jehan Shah, and Jusuf Ali Ooshan.

cessful; but hoping that the army, finding he was in possession of the treasure and artillery, would flock to his standard, he resolved to remain on the defensive; and gave orders to have his camp entrenched.

While Azeem Ooshan thus flattered himself with an easy conquest, the three brothers, by the advice of the Ameer ul Omrah, drew several large pieces of artillery from the fort, and encamped their united forces in one line, making the city their defence to the rear.

In this situation affairs remained for four days; during which a heavy cannonade was kept up on both sides: but the advantage being manifestly on the part of the three brothers, and the troops of Azeem Ooshan beginning to desert, he found it requisite to alter his plan; and on the fifth morning marched from his camp, resolved to conquer, or to die.

As previous to this time most of his experienced generals had left him, the troops were drawn out without any proper arrangement; the artillery were placed in such a situation as to be perfectly useless, and were not supported by any body of regular troops. Kereem Addeen, the eldest son of the Prince, who was the nominal commander of the first line, remained in the reserve with his father; and none of the officers knew to whom they should apply for orders.

In the meantime the enemy advanced slowly, but in regular order, towards Azeem Ooshan, whose terrified troops began to disperse. The misguided, but truly brave Prince, when he saw his fortune thus adverse, (though he might have saved himself by quitting his elephant, and mounting a fleet horse, which would have carried him back to Bengal,) disdained the proposition, which had been suggested to him by Ameen Addowleh, one of his attached friends; and continuing to advance, although nearly abandoned by all his troops, his elephant driver was killed by a musquet shot; and the animal, having been severely wounded by a cannon-ball, became furious, and, rushing to the steep bank of the Ravy, precipitated himself and master into the stream. The dead body of the elephant was again found, but no trace of the Prince was ever discovered; and for a time it was hoped, by his friends, that he had escaped. Such is the account given, both in the Sier al Metakhareen, and the Muntakhab al Lebab; but by Bradut Khan's statement, the body of Azeem Ooshan was found on the field of battle, covered with wounds, and delivered to his brothers. Mohammed Kereem, the eldest son of the Prince, was made prisoner, and put to death by order of his uncle, Moizaddeen, who had then assumed the title of Jehandar Shah. These events occurred in the end of Suffer (second month) of the year 1124, A. D. 1712.

Such was the catastrophe of the unfortunate Prince Azeem Oshan, who for eleven years governed the provinces of Behar and Bengal with much tolerance and moderation; and which conduct, contrasted with that of his successor, places his character in a very favourable point of view. It may, however, be remarked, that the princes of the house of Timour have evinced in India a mildness of disposition not corresponding with the idea we have of Tartars; and that the epithet of "Cruel Despot" has not been applicable to any of that family: for although Aurungzebe was a bigot, and persecuted the Hindoos, it may be doubted whether he was naturally of a cruel disposition: at all events, his countrymen entirely acquit him on the score of the murder of his brothers, as an act of self-preservation: and it has been justly observed, by a native of India, "That Princes should not be judged of by the rules of common life.*"

**NUWAB MOORSHUD COOLY, MUTIMUN AL MOOLK,
ALA ADDOWLEH, JAFFIER KHAN NESEERY,
NASIR JUNG.**

Continuation of the history of Moorshud Cooly Jaffier Khan
—On his return to Bengal, changes the name of Mukhsoodabad to Moorshudabad—The English obtain permission to establish a factory at Cossimbazar—The Nuwab appoints deputy Dewans of Bengal and Oriasa—Establishes a new system of polity with respect to the Zemindars—Takes the land entirely out of their hands, and appoints his own collectors of the revenue—The Rajas of Bakserbhoom and Bishenpore exempted from these regulations—The Rajas of Tipperah and Cooch Behar agree to pay tribute—The Nuwab revenges himself on Derp Narain, one of the Imperial Cannongoes—Promotes the son of the deceased—Represents to the Emperor the impolicy of the Foujedar of Hoogly being independent of his authority—Ordered to appoint an officer of his own to that office—Nominates Wullee Beg—The deposed Foujedar refuses to leave behind his Peishkar—A dispute takes place—Zyn Addeen is assisted by the French and Dutch—The Nuwab sends a force, under Dilput Sing, to establish his officer—An accidental shot kills Dilput Sing—The insurgents drive the Nuwab's troops into the town, and march off towards Dehly—The Nuwab, some time after, takes revenge on the Peishkar—Reduces the

* See Mirza Abu Taleb's Travels.

military establishment—Preserves great dignity in his Court—Impartial in his conduct, but prefers the Hindoos as men of business—One of his principal Collectors commit suicide—Various instances of the Nawab's cruelty in enforcing the collections—Observes great regularity in remitting the revenues—Jealous of any interference with the subordinate appointments in Bengal—Shews great partiality to Sief Khan, Foujedar of Purneah—Neglects Aboo Turab, the Foujedar of Bhooanah, who is in consequence murdered—The Nuwab inflicts severe punishment on the rebels—Accounts of the Prince Ferrokhsere—Applies to the Nuwab for assistance—is refused—quits Moorshedabad, and proceeds to Patna—His cause espoused by Syed Hussein Aly, the Governor of Behar, who writes to Abdullah Khan, Governor of Allahabad, and prevails upon him to join in the rebellion—Abdullah, in consequence, seizes upon the year's collections of Bengal, and levies troops—The Emperor supersedes Abdullah, and sends an army to dispossess him—The troops of Abdullah attack and defeat the Royal army—Ferrokhsere marches from Patna, and arrives at Allahabad, where he musters his army—Advances to Cudgah—defeats the Royal army—proceeds towards Agra—engages the Imperial forces commanded by the Emperor in person—Hussein Aly Khan severely wounded in the engagement—Jehandlar Shah escapes to Dehly—is seized and confined by Asaad ad Dowlah, the Vizier—Ferrokhsere proclaimed Emperor—proceeds to Dehly—causes Jehandlar Shah to be put to death—takes possession of the kingdom—Affairs of Bengal resumed—Rasheed Khan, a favourite of the Prince, attempts to seize on the province of Bengal—Moorshad Cooly opposes, defeats, and kills Rasheed Khan—Confirmed in his government—Appoints his grandson deputy Dewan of Bengal—Sets aside the privileges of the English—They send an embassy to Dehly, to complain of his conduct—Proceedings of the embassy—Obtains various firmans from the Emperor—Returns to Calcutta—The Nuwab refuses to comply with some of the articles of the Emperor's firman, and disputes with the English on the meaning of some of the other clauses—The English affairs prosperous—The Nuwab obtains the Government of Behar, in addition to that of Bengal and Orissa—Death of Ferrokhsere—Moorshad Cooly confirmed in his government by the Emperor Mohammed Shah—Two of the Zemindars of Bengal raise an insurrection—are seized, and confined for life—Anecdotes of the severity of Moorshad Cooly Khan—His justice, religion, charity, policy, loyalty, abstemiousness, learning, impartiality—Specimen of Mohammedan bigotry—

The Nuwab orders his tomb to be built—Endeavours to secure the succession for his grandson, Ser Afraz Khan—Opposed by his Son-in-law, and the Ameer al Omrah, Khan Dawran—The Nuwab appoints his grandson his heir and successor—Dies—His son-in-law, Shujaa Addeen Khan, takes possession of the government.

IT was thought proper, in the foregoing chapter, not to interrupt the narrative of events; but to accompany the prince Azeem Ooshan to the end of his career.—We now return to the affairs of Bengal.

It has been mentioned, in the foregoing Chapter, that Moorshud Cooly Khan, the Dewan, having waited upon the Emperor Aurungzebe, at his camp in the Dekkan, had been most graciously received by that monarch; and, in reward for his services, had been re-appointed Dewan of Bengal and Orissa, in his own right; and Deputy Nazim or governor of the two provinces, on the part of the Prince Azeem Ooshan. He was also honoured with the lofty titles of Nuwab Moorshud Cooly, Mutimun al Mook, Ala Addowleh, Jaffier Khan Neseery, Nasir Jung.

The first act of the Nuwab, on his return to Bengal, was to change the name of the city of Mukhsoodabad to Moorshudabad; and, by establishing in it the mint, and by erecting a palace and other public offices of government, to render it the capital of the province.

We accordingly find, that, in the year 1118, A. D. 1706, the English East-India Company was induced to pay him 25,000 rupees, for permission to establish a factory at Gossimbazar, in the vicinity of the new city, for the convenience of having the bullion, which they sent from Europe, coined into rupees at the mint.

In this year, also, the departure of the Prince Azeem Ooshan from Behar threw the whole of the authority into the hands of the Nuwab, and gave him the unlimited controul over the three provinces; for although the Prince appointed his son, Ferrokhsere (afterwards Emperor), to be his representative in Bengal, it does not appear that he was authorized to do so by the Emperor; and the Dewan paid little attention to his nomination.

When, after the succession of Behadur Shah, he was confirmed in the appointment of Deputy Nazim, by which the offices of Dewan and Nazim (which from the reign of Akbar had been separated) were now, by the absence of the Prince, united to his person, he appointed Syed Ikram Khan to be his deputy Dewan over the province of Bengal; and his son-in-law, Shujaa Addeen Mohammed Khan, to be his Deputy Dewan.

He now commenced to put in practice a system of the greatest oppression upon the zemindars, or Hindoo landholders, which, although it much augmented the revenue of the state, rendered his name dreaded and detested throughout the provinces.

In order to make a full investigation of the value of the lands, he placed the principal zemindars in close confinement, and gave the collection into the hands of expert Aumils, or collectors, who received the assessments from the farmers, and paid the amount into the public treasury. He also ordered the whole of the lands to be re-measured; and having ascertained the quantity of fallow and waste ground belonging to every village, he caused a considerable proportion of it to be brought into cultivation; for which purpose the collectors were authorized to make advances of money to the lower order of husbandmen, to purchase stock, and to reimburse themselves by a certain portion of the produce.

julkar.*

~~9. In a separate document, the following information is provided:~~

near 100% of the revenue.

The other zemindar owed his security to the nature of his country, which was full of woods, and adjoining to the mountains of Jarchund, whither, upon any invasion of the district, he retired to places inaccessible to his pursuers, and allowed them severely in their retreat: the country was besides unproductive; and the expenses of collection, and of maintaining it, would have exceeded the amount of the revenue.

These two zemindars, therefore, having refused the summons to attend at the Court of Moorshudabad, were permitted to remain on their own estates, on condition of regularly remitting their assessment, through an agent stationed at Moorshudabad.

The Rajas of Tipperah, Cooch Behar, and Assam, whose countries, although they had been overrun by the Mohammedan arms, had never been perfectly subdued, and who therefore continued to spread the umbrella of independence, and to stamp the coin in their own names, were so impressed with the idea of the power and abilities of Moorshud Coochy Khan, that they forwarded to him valuable presents, consisting of elephants, wrought and unwrought ivory, musk, amber, and various other articles, in token of their submission: in return for which, the Nuwab sent them *Khelants*, or honorary dresses, by the receipt and putting on of which they acknowledged his superiority. This interchange of presents and compliments became an annual custom during the whole time of his government, without either party attempting to recede from, or advance beyond, the implied line of conduct.

Moorshud Coochy devoted two days in the week to the administration of justice, presiding in person in court; and so impartial was he in his decisions, and so rigid in the execution of the sentence of the law, that he put his own son to death for an infraction of its regulations; and his decisions thereby became celebrated throughout Hindoostan. This, however, must be considered as respecting Mohammedans; for in the collection of the revenues he allowed his officers to be guilty of great cruelty and oppression; and wherever any person opposed his will, he marked him as the victim of his revenge.

It has been before mentioned, that, when he wished to lay his accounts in person before the Emperor, Derp Naim, one of the chief Councillors, had refused to audit them by his signature. This circumstance rankled in the mind of Moorshud Coochy; but as the Councillor held his appointment independently of the Governor, and was only accountable to the Imperial exchequer for his conduct, the latter durst not make any open attack against him, without incurring the displeasure of the Emperor. He therefore treated him, for several years, with great respect and attention; and consulted him upon all business regarding the revenue.

This behaviour gained the friendship of Derp Narain, and lulled him into fatal security; for upon the death of Bhooput Roy, the Peishkari Khalsah, first clerk of the treasury, and who, in fact, managed all the business of that office, he was prevailed upon, by the Nuwab, to undertake that employment.

Whilst in this dangerous situation, Moorsbud Cooly narrowly watched all his actions, hoping, that by having thus extended his authority, he might be guilty of some misconduct, which should place him totally in his power. But Derp Narain, having a thorough knowledge of the business, and being well acquainted with every particular regarding the revenues of Bengal, and only anxious to recommend himself by the faithful discharge of his duty, by the most minute investigation, and by the reduction of expenses, increased the revenue from one crore and thirty lacks, (1,300,000*l.*) to one crore and a fifty lacks of rupees, (1,500,000*l.*) which he caused to be actually paid into the public treasury; but, in so doing, he curtailed the allowances granted to the zemindars, and infringed upon the emoluments of people in office, which rendered him very unpopular, and gave the Nuwab an opportunity of accusing him of malversation in his office: and, under pretence of scrutinizing his accounts, he kept him in close confinement, and deprived him of all the enjoyments of life; which severity so affected the health and spirits of Derp Narain, that he fell into a decline, and in a short time died. But as the Nuwab was suspected of having accelerated the fate of his prisoner, he attempted to efface that impression by his kindness to the son of the deceased; for whom he obtained, from the Emperor, his father's office of Canoungoe, with an addition of one-fourth of the emoluments of the other Canoungoe; who, in consequence of his having signed Moorsbud Cooly's accounts, when Derp Narain refused his signature, expected to have had his salary increased, instead of being diminished.

For some years previous to the accession of Moorsbud Cooly to the Dewanship of Bengal, the office of Foujadar, or Governor of the part of Hooghly, had been rendered independent both of the Dewan and of the Nazim of the province; but as soon as he had united both offices in his own person, he communicated to the Emperor, Bahader Shah, the absurd policy of an imperious superior, or armed authority in government; and requested that the Governor of Hooghly might be subjected to his orders, and rendered accountable to him for his conduct. The Emperor immediately saw the force of his argument; and Moorsbud Cooly was permitted to appoint an officer in his own confidence to the superintendence of that town. The person whom he selected for this purpose was a Mungul, named Wallee Beg; upon whose arrival at Hooghly, the

Addeen, the deposed Foujedar, encamped, with his retinue and dependants, outside of the town, intending, as soon as he had delivered over the charge of his office, to proceed quietly to Court; but Wallée Beg, having demanded that Kinkee Sein, the Pelskar or head clerk, should remain behind till the accounts were examined, the late Foujedar resisted the demand; and both parties appealed to arms. Zyn Addeen, having ingratiated himself with the Dutch at Chinsura, and the French at Chandernagore, was supported by them; and Wallée Beg, having applied for succour to the Nuwab, was in a short time reinforced by a considerable detachment, both of infantry and cavalry, under the command of a Hindoo officer, named Dilput Sing.

Both parties encamped in the vicinity of Chandernagore, and threw up entrenchments in front of their camps, which were distant a mile from each other; and although the Nuwab had, on the commencement of the disturbance, sent positive orders to all the European settlements not to interfere in the quarrel, nevertheless, both the French and Dutch continued to assist Zyn Addeen, and supplied him with an excellent train of artillery.

After a considerable time had elapsed in this state of inactivity, and each party was endeavouring to outmanoeuvre the other by stratagem, the deposed Governor sent an agent to Dilput Sing, the Nuwab's General, to negotiate terms of peace; and previous to his departure, as a mark of his special favour, he threw over the shoulders of the agent a large scarlet shawl, which rendered him very conspicuous at a distance.

It happened that when the agent entered the opposite camp, Dilput Sing was employed in viewing the ramparts of his detachment; and directed that the agent might be brought within his file accordingly; and while they stood off, were standing conversing on the top of the rampart, a French gunner discharged a cannon from one of the advanced batteries, the ball of which struck Dilput Sing, and tore him to pieces, without injuring the agent in the smallest degree. Although the circumstance was probably accidental, it was considered as premeditated; and a handsome reward was given to the author of the contrivance, and a handsome reward given to the European for his dexterity. Whether intentional or accidental, it had the effect, however, of throwing the Nuwab's army into great confusion; of which Zyn Addeen taking advantage, detached and drove them into the town of Hooghly: after which he, quietly and unopposedly, proceeded with his deputy and retinue to Dehly, where he died a short time after his arrival, without any notice having been taken by the ministers, of his deposition.

After the death of his patron, Kinker Sein returned from Delhi to Moorshudabad; and, without betraying any signs of fear, waited upon the Nuwab; who, with his usual policy, apparently forgave him, and appointed him collector of the revenue of the district of Hoogly, but at the end of the year, when he came to settle his accounts at Moorshudabad, confined him, on pretence of malversation, and ordered him to be fed on buffalo's milk mixed with salt, which occasioning a disorder in his bowels; he in a short time died.

Moorshud Coochy Khan continued to make the collections through his Aumils, by displacing the zemindars; with a few exceptions, where he found the latter worthy of trust and confidence. He admitted no charges for troops, but those paid and mustered by himself. Two thousand cavalry, and four thousand infantry, under the command of Nazir Ahmed, who had been originally a private soldier, were found sufficient to enforce the payment of all the revenues of Bengal: for so severe were his regulations, and such the dread of his power and resolution, that his commands were implicitly obeyed; and it was sufficient for him to send a single messenger, to sequester a zemindary, or to seize on a culprit at the greatest distance.

Such were the respect and dignity kept up by the Governor at his court, that, in his presence, no person was allowed to salute or speak to another; nor were any of his officers or Rajas allowed to sit before him.

He prohibited the zemindars, and other Hindoos of opulence, from riding in palanquins, obliging them to make use of an inferior kind of conveyance, called a Dooly, or Chowpaleh. Whoever deviated, in the smallest degree, from his general regulations was certain to experience the effects of his resentment.

In the affairs of government, he shewed favour to no one; and always rewarded merit wherever he found it. He employed none but Bengally Hindoos in the collection of the revenues, because they were most easily compelled by threats or punishment, to disclose their mal-practices and their confederates; and their pusillanimity secured him from any insurrection or combination against the State. In the few instances in which he found that they had defrauded him, or had made away with the revenue, and were unable to make good the deficiency, he compelled the offender, with his wife and children, to become Mohammedans.

Raja Oudynarain, whose family had long enjoyed the zemindary of the district of Rajeshahy, was so distinguished by his abilities and application, that the Nuwab entrusted him with the superintendence of the greater portion of the collections, and placed under his orders Gholaum Mohammed Jemmadar, with two hundred horse, who in a short time became a great

favourite of his principal ; but in consequence of his pay having been kept back for many months, the Jemmadar's people mutinied, and the Nuwab, without inquiring minutely into the matter, ordered a chosen detachment to quell the disturbance. A conflict ensued in the vicinity of the Raja's house, in which the Jemmadar was killed, and many of his people put to death. This circumstance so hurt and terrified Oudynarain, that he put an end to his own existence.

The zemindary of Rajeshahy was, in consequence, taken away from the family, and conferred on Ramjewun and Kanoo Kendor, two zemindars who resided on the eastern side of the river, in consideration of their having been more punctual in the payment of their rents than the other zemindars of Bengal.

The Nuwab, however, never placed confidence in any man ; he himself examined the accounts of the exchequer every day ; and if he discovered any of the zemindars, or others, remiss in their payment, he placed either the principal or his agent in arrest, with a guard over him, to prevent his either eating or drinking till the business was settled : and, in order to prevent the guards from being bribed, or negligent in their duty, he placed spies over them, who informed him of the smallest deviation from his orders.

A principal instrument of the Nuwab's severity was Nazir Ahmed, to whom, when a district was in arrear, he used to deliver over the captive zemindar, to be tormented by every species of cruelty ; as hanging up by the feet ; bastinadding ; setting them in the sun in summer ; and by stripping them naked, and sprinkling them frequently with cold water, in winter.

But all these acts of severity were but trifles, compared with the wanton and cruel conduct of Syed Reza Khan, who was married to Nuffisah Begum, the grand-daughter of the Nuwab, and who, upon the death of Syed Ikram Khan, had been appointed deputy Dewan of the province. In order to enforce the payment of the revenues, he ordered a pond to be dug, which was filled with every thing disgusting ; and the stench of which was so offensive, as nearly to suffocate whoever approached it ; to this shocking place, in contempt of the Hindoos, he gave the name of *Bickton*, which, in their language, means *Paradise* ; and, after the zemindars had undergone the usual punishments, if their rent was not forthcoming, he caused them to be drawn, by a rope tied under the arms, through this infernal pond. He is also stated to have compelled them to put on loose trousers, into which were introduced live cats. By such cruel and horrid methods he extorted from the unhappy zemindars every thing they possessed, and made them weary of their lives.

The collections of the preceding year were always completed by the end of Chait (the first month of the new year), and in

the beginning of Bysack (the second month) the Nuwab generally despatched to Dehly the royal revenue, amounting from one crore and thirty lacs to one crore and fifty lacs of rupees, (1,500,000*l.*) the greater part in specie. The boxes of treasure were laden upon two hundred or more carts, drawn by bullocks, and escorted by a guard of 300 cavalry and 500 infantry, accompanied by one of the sub-treasurers. Along with the revenue, he sent, as presents to the Emperor and Ministers, a number of elephants, Hill horses, antelopes, hawks, shields made of rhinoceros hides, sword blades, Sylhet mats, filigree work of gold and silver, wrought ivory, Dacca muslins, and Cossimbazar silks; also a number of European articles procured at the Royal port of Hoogly.

The Nuwab, attended by his principal officers, accompanied the convoy some miles from Moorshudabad: and in order to take off any further responsibility from himself, independent of his own despatches to the Vizier, he had the event recorded in the Royal Gazettes, by which all the Governors on the route were apprized of the circumstance, and were obliged, by the regulations, to have carts and an escort ready to forward the treasure to the capital;—those of Bengal being relieved at Patna, and those of the latter place at Allahabad; the convoy, and its value, frequently increasing as it went on, by the collections of each province.

By such conduct, Moorshad Cooiy Khan conciliated the favour of the Minister and of the Emperor; and the appointments in Bengal were made chiefly at his recommendation: but if, through any other interest, a person procured the nomination to an office in that province, every means was taken to thwart him, and to render his situation so unpleasant, as to induce him quickly to resign. In proof of the former fact, it is stated, that Sief Khan, the grandson of the celebrated Amyr Khan, having been appointed to Bengal at the recommendation of the Governor, was, upon his arrival, received in the most gracious manner, and appointed Bujedar of Furruck, with absolute power over that district, and with permission to conquer from the Rajah of Misinglas as much territory as he pleased; without any increase of retinue to the State: it is also said, that the Nuwab offered him his granddaughter, Nuffisah Begum, in marriage; but that Sief Khan, being of a virtuous family, declined the connection; and she was therefore united to Syed Reza.

Shortly after Sief Khan had taken possession of his office, he expelled Beer Sah, the zemindar of Beernagur, who ventured to oppose his will; after which, he imprisoned all the other zemindars of Furruck, and collected annually from that district eighteen lacs of rupees, the surplus of which, above the former

revenue of ten or eleven lacs, he appropriated to his own use. He also considerably extended his boundary, by bringing into cultivation certain waste lands lying between Purneah and Morung as neutral ground, but to which the Raja of Morung, intimidated by Sief Khan's power, gave up his claim.

All these circumstances were well known to the Nuwab; yet having a great friendship for Sief Khan, he did not interfere; but annually invited him to spend some time with him at Moorshudabad, where he used to rally his guest on the peculiarities in his character, particularly on his mode of paying his troops, which was by giving half the amount in goods either plundered, sequestered, or purchased at a cheap rate, and the remainder in money; also for his manner of rewarding his companions and favourites, by giving them his cast-off concubines, on which accident he conferred on him the title of Zep Bukhsh, *The Bestower of Women*.*

In evidence of the other assertion, it is related, that a person of an illustrious family, named Sved Aboo Turab, having, through the interest of one of the Viziers, obtained the office of Foujedar of Bhoomnab in Bengal, adjacent to which resided a refractory zemindar, named Sittaram, who kept in his pay a band of robbers, with whom he used to infest the roads and plunder the boats on the rivers, and even carry off the cattle from the villages, setting at defiance the power of the Foujedar; who to extirpate this public depredator, Aboo Turab applied for assistance to the Nuwab; but, instead of affording him the required aid, he was supposed, in an under-hand manner, to countenance and encourage Sittaram.

At length the Foujedar, finding he had nothing to expect from the Governor, took into his own pay an Afghan officer, named Peer Khan, with 200 of his followers, well mounted and armed; and sent him to beat up the quarters of the depredator; but Sittaram, having intelligence of the circumstance, moved to another part of the country, where by chance he fell in with the Foujedar, who was amusing himself in hunting, and attended by a very small escort. The robbers immediately attacked the Foujedar and his party, and, before their chief was apprized Aboo Turab was slain. When Sittaram found that it was the Foujedar he had slain, he much regretted the circumstance; and told his followers that the Nuwab would certainly revenge the insult offered to his government, by slaying them alive, and by desolating the pergunnah of Mahmoodabad: he then respectfully delivered the body to the Foujedar's attendants.

Zep Bukhsh, "Bestower of Gold," is a common appellation for a liberal man.

dants, who carried it to Bhoosnah; and interred it in the vicinity of that town.

When the Nuvab received intelligence of the murder of Aboo Turab, he was greatly alarmed, being apprehensive of having incurred the displeasure of the Emperor by his neglect of so respectable a person; and whom he knew had many friends about the Court, who would not fail to represent the state of the case. He therefore appointed Bukhs-Aly Khan to succeed the deceased; and sent with him a considerable force, with instructions to seize Sittaram and all his party. Orders were also issued to all the neighbouring zemindars, to assist in seizing the offender; and they were informed, that if he was allowed to make his escape through any of their districts, they should be expelled from their lands, and suffer other grievous punishments. These orders had an instantaneous effect; the zemindars raised their *posse comitatus* and hemmed the robbers in every side, until Bukhs-Aly Khan arrived, who seized Sittaram, his women, children, and accomplices, and sent them in irons to Moorshudabad, where Sittaram and the robbers were impaled alive, and the women and children sold as slaves. These proceedings were entered in the public records; and the Governor wrote a particular representation of all the circumstances to the Emperor, placing his own conduct in the most favourable point of view.

From the disgusting detail of such transactions, we now turn to a more dignified subject.

In the history of the Prince Azem Oshan, it was stated, that, upon his being summoned to Court, in the year of the Hijra 1118, he left his second son, Ferokhsere, to be his agent in Behgal and Orissa. That Prince continued to reside for some time at Decan; but after the demise of Aurungzebe, and the accession of his grandfather, Behadur Shah, to the throne, A. H. 1119, he removed to Moorshudabad, and took up his residence at the palace called the Lall Bag, in that city, where he lived upon terms of much cordiality with Moorshud Cooly Khan, not interfering at all with the government; the whole management of which had been placed, by Behadur Shah's desire, in the hands of the Nuvab.

Upon the death of Behadur Shah, and the accession of the worthless Jehanadur Shah, A. H. 1124, the Prince applied to Moorshud Cooly Khan to assist him in avenging the death of his father, and in his views upon the empire; but the Nuvab positively refused him, declaring that no considerations should make him depart from his duty to Jehanadur Shah, whom he now considered as his lawful sovereign; but in a friendly manner advised the Prince immediately to quit Moorshudabad, lest an order should arrive for his being seized and sent prisoner to Delhi.

Ferrokhsare did not press the Nuwab any further; but, setting out with his family and a few attendants, took the route of Patna, hoping to obtain some assistance from Syed Hussein Aly Khan, who had been appointed Governor of Behar by his father; and on his way was joined by a few of the adherents of his family, from Dacca.

Upon his arrival at Patna, instead of entering the city, he took up his residence in a caravanserai, near Jaffier Khan's gardens; whence he sent a respectful and doleful message to Hussein Aly, stating his deplorable situation; reminding him of the favours conferred on him by Azeem Ooshan, and entreating him to protect and support him. The Governor was much alarmed and distressed by this message: he was bound, by every tie of gratitude, to the family of Azeem Ooshan; but dreaded the power of Jehandar Shah, who seemed to be supported by the principal nobility, and securely fixed on the throne. He therefore returned a polite, but cold answer, to Ferrokhsare, expressive of his respect for the memory of the Prince's father, but lamenting his inability to be of any service to him; and conjuring him to depart from Behar immediately, otherwise he should be under the necessity of seizing him, conformably to the orders which he had received from Court. The Prince, however, not discouraged by this refusal, again solicited, that if he could not assist him, he would at least favour him with a visit, and advise him how he should act in the critical situation in which he was placed.

Hussein Aly Khan could not refuse such a request from the son of his patron: he therefore went privately to pay his respects to the Prince; and was introduced into the same tent where the females of the family were; and who were only concealed from view by a screen. He was received by the Prince in the most gracious and conciliating manner possible, and clothed in one of his Highness's superb dresses; after which they entered into a long conversation on the state of public affairs, in which Ferrokhsare represented, that the fate of his elder brother and the other princes, who had been put to death in cold blood, subsequent to the battle at Lahore, convinced him that he had nothing to expect from his uncle, Jehandar Shah; but death, or a lingering and wretched imprisonment: he therefore conjured Hussein Aly to support his cause; and if they succeeded, he should share the empire with him. The Governor still remaining unmoved by these entreaties, Mileki Zaman, the daughter of the Prince, who had been treated for the poison, came from behind the screen, and, falling at his feet, besought him to have compassion on her father and his wretched family: she reminded him of the obligations he was under to her grandfather, and called on him, in the name of his ancestor,

the Prophet Mohammed, who had commanded his followers "Never to forget benefits conferred," not to forsake them in their distress; and desired him to reflect on what posterity would say of his ingratitude and unmanly conduct, should he now abandon them, and without an exertion, let them fall into the hands of their enemies. Before she had finished her speech, she was joined by the widow of Azeem Ooshan;* whilst the other ladies, from behind the curtain, combined their entreaties to prevail upon him; and from sobs and tears proceeded to screams and lamentations. The Governor could no longer resist such a scene; and, yielding to their supplications, said, "All I have to offer is my life; and I now devote it to your service." The Prince then presented him his own sword, and swore never to prove ungrateful for his kindness. The Governor, immediately after, returned home, and wrote all the circumstances to his elder brother, Syed Abdullah Khan, the governor of Allahabad, who also owed his elevation to Azeem Ooshan.†

The following day, the Prince Ferrokhsere was introduced into Patna with great pomp; and, upon his alighting at the palace, was placed by the Governor on the musnud, and saluted as Emperor of Hindoostan: a proclamation was also issued, and letters written to various parts of the country, inviting all officers and soldiers to join his Majesty's standard.

When Syed Abdullah Khan received his brother's letter, he was overwhelmed with astonishment; for besides the perils in which they were thus plunged, their wives and children were at Dehly, and consequently in the power of their enemies: but such was his affection for his brother, that he resolved to run all risks, and to rise or fall with him. He therefore commenced making military preparations: and as the convoy, with the year's collections of Bengal, had just arrived at Allahabad, under the charge of Shujaa Addeen Khan, the son-in-law of the Nuwab of Bengal, he seized the treasure for Ferrokhsere's use. This was a most fortunate event, both for the Prince and the brothers, as it enabled them not only to pay the arrears due to their own troops, but to recruit their army.

* The daughter of the Prince being a child, and his mother advanced in years, their appearing before a stranger, and especially a Syed, was not considered as any great departure from etiquette. Had the other ladies come forward, it would have been considered as derogating from the Prince's honour, which even the existing circumstances would not have warranted.

† This narrative is taken from the *Sier al Mutakherees*. This circumstance is differently related by the author of the *Muntakhab al Lebab*; see *infra* this account.

In the meantime, Hussein Aly, by his influence in Patna, borrowed a large sum of money from the bankers; and procured from the merchants all the materials requisite for the outfit of his army, without any other security than the Prince's bonds, payable, with a heavy interest, as soon as he should be fixed on the throne. Whilst the two brothers were thus actively employed in preparing to take the field, the Emperor was informed, by his spies, of all their transactions; and immediately superseded Abdullah Khan in his government; sending at the same time an active officer, named Syed Abdalghoffar, with 12,000 horse, to dispossess him.

Abdullah Khan, unable to oppose such a force in the field, took refuge in the fort of Allahabad; but encamped his troops, consisting of less than seven thousand cavalry and infantry, under the command of his three younger brothers, for the convenience of water and forage, at some miles' distance from the fort: of which circumstance the Imperial General having obtained intelligence, by a forced march got between them and the fort: and sent a taunting message to the Governor, that not wishing to play with children, he had left them behind him, being desirous of trying his, the Governor's skill in the game of war. This message having been reported to the young men, inflamed them with rage; they immediately attacked the rear of the Imperial army; and, after a hard-fought battle, completely routed them; not, however, without the loss of a number of their own men, and that of one of their generals, Noor Addeen Khan, the favourite brother of the Governor.

This event caused much alarm at Dehly: and the Emperor, in hopes of detaching Abdullah Khan from the confederacy, meanly condescended to say, that he never had any intention of superseding him; and sent him a new commission for the government of Allahabad, which was accompanied by an honorary dress of the most splendid kind.

In the meantime, the Prince Ferrokhsere having arrived at Benaras, was enabled to borrow a large sum of money from the bankers of that city, on the same terms on which the loan had been negotiated at Patna; and, proceeding by easy marches, daily augmented his army by fresh levies, and was joined by several officers of distinction, who had taken disgust at the conduct of Jehandar Shah and his ministers; so that, on his crossing the Ganges at Allahabad, and after his junction with Abdullah Khan, he mustered an army of 25,000 cavalry, and an excellent train of artillery.

The Prince soon after advanced to Cudgwa*, attended by the two brothers, Syed Hussein Aly and Abdullah Khan, with

* The place where the battle was fought between Shujaa and Aurungzebe.

all their friends and partisans; and on the 29th of the month Showal, A. H. 1124, A. D. 1712, defeated Aizaddeen, the eldest son of Jehandar Shah, and got possession of all his artillery and camp equipage. In consequence of this victory, many of the Imperial troops joined the standard of Ferrokhsere, and Abdullah Khan, who directed all the military movements, halted some days on the field of battle, to carry on his negotiations with several of the Omrahs, who were disgusted with Jehandar Shah and his infamous government.

The pusillanimous Emperor, having at length taken the field, the contending armies, on the 14th of Zilhije 1124, met in the vicinity of Agra; and after a confused battle, which lasted nearly the whole day, the Imperial army was completely routed; and the Emperor, accompanied by his mistress, Lal Coar, fled upon his elephant to Agra; where, having changed his dress, and shaved his head and beard in the manner of the Hindoos, he, in the middle of the night, continued his flight towards Dehly. Upon his arrival in that city, instead of going to the fort, he stopt at the house of the Vizier Aussud ad Dowlah, who had been left in charge of the capital. This circumstance was shortly known throughout the town; upon which the friends of Ferrokhsere surrounded the house, and demanded that the Royal fugitive should be delivered into their hands. In order to suppress their clamours, the Vizier agreed to confine the Emperor; and making a virtue of necessity, he wrote a petition to Ferrokhsere, informing him, that he had imprisoned Jehandar Shah in his own house, and waited the Imperial orders concerning his disposal. In return, orders were despatched, applauding his conduct, and assuring him of the Royal favour.

During the late engagement, although fortune, in its termination, had favoured the cause of Ferrokhsere, yet that division of the army which had been placed under the command of his friend and principal support, Hussein Aly Khan, having been opposed to Zoolfecar Khan, the Ameer al Omrah, and his Tartar troops, was worsted, and their chief left for dead on the field: and as Zoolfecar Khan* continued to keep possession of the ground till it was dark, the body of Hussein Aly was not discovered till near midnight; and when found, was in a state of insensibility, and scarcely a spark of life remaining. On receiving some assistance, he so far recovered his senses, as to

* This officer was the son of Aussud ad Dowlah, the Vizier; at the desire of his father, he yielded himself up a prisoner, and trusted to the clemency of the Prince; but, as he had been the principal cause of the defeat and death of the father of Ferrokhsere, he had no reason to hope for pardon, and suffered accordingly.

learn with pleasure the success of his party ; nevertheless, it was with much difficulty that he could be placed in a palanquin, and conveyed to his brother ; who, on seeing him still alive, prostrated himself on the ground, and returned thanks to God for so signal a favour : he afterwards took off the valuable jewels which he wore, and presented them to the man who had first discovered the body.

Ferrokhsere encamped that night on the field of battle ; and next morning, being the 15th of the month Zilhije 1124, he mounted the throne of Hindoostan, and gave public audience to all the people. On this occasion were introduced to him a number of the Omrahs, who, in consequence of the negotiations of Abdullah Khan, had either remained neuter during the engagement, or had come over to the victorious side. After the inauguration of the Emperor, he proceeded to Sekundra, to offer up his devotions at the tomb of his illustrious ancestor, Akbar ; and at noon returned to Agra, where he received the compliments of all the inhabitants of that city.

The next day the Emperor proceeded towards Dahly ; and, on his arrival in its vicinity, encamped outside the walls, and commanded the Vizier, Assud ad Dowlah, and his son, Zoolfecar Khan, to be brought to his presence. They were both received with the honours due to their high rank ; after which, the former was allowed to return to his home ; but the latter was led to a private tent ; and after a few questions had been asked him, he was strangled, as a punishment for his crimes. His body was afterwards tied, with the head downwards, on an elephant, together with the body of Jehandar Shah, who had been put to death in prison ; and they were thus exposed in the new Emperor's train, when he made his triumphal entry to the palace of the capital.*

Having thus conducted Ferrokhsere to the perilous pinnacle of his ambition, whence in a few years he was to be precipitated into the abyss of destruction, we now return to the affairs of Bengal.

When Ferrokhsere assumed the Imperial titles at Patna, he was persuaded by one of his dependants, named Rasheed Khan, to appoint him Governor of Bengal : and knowing that Moorshud Cooly Khan did not keep up more troops than those employed in the collection of the revenues, he was in hopes that Rasheed Khan might, by an expeditious march, completely surprise the Nuwab and, without difficulty get possession of the province, which would serve as a place of refuge, should he be disappointed in his views on the empire. The matter

* For the remaining history of Ferrokhsere, see Scott's valuable History of the Dekkan, second Volume.

was therefore kept a profound secret till the Prince commenced his march from Patna; when Rasheed Khan, instead of accompanying him, took the route of Moorshudabad; and before the Nuwab was aware of his intentions, had entered the passes of Terriagurly and Sicklygully. The Nuwab, not at all intimidated by the circumstance, ordered his corps of 2000 cavalry to encamp outside the city; and, having joined to them as many of his infantry as he could collect, with a few guns, waited the approach of the enemy. When they had arrived within a few miles of Moorshudabad, he gave the command of his troops to two officers, named Meer Bengally and Syed Anwar, and ordered them to oppose Rasheed Khan: an engagement ensued, in which Syed Anwar was killed, and Meer Bengally compelled to retreat: the Nuwab, however, who was a staunch predestinarian, was not at all dismayed by the event; but collecting the palace-guards, and a few other troops, proceeded, on his elephant, to the assistance of his retreating army: his presence gave vigour to the troops; they returned to the attack; and an arrow, from the hand of Meer Bengally, having pierced Rasheed Khan, he fell from his horse: his army was, in consequence, totally routed, and many of them taken prisoners. The Nuwab returned in triumph to the city; and gave orders that a pyramid should be immediately erected on the road to Dehly, with niches to contain the heads of Rasheed Khan and all his followers that were slain in the battle, that it might remain a monument of his victory.

But as soon as Ferrokhsere was firmly established on the throne, Moorshud Cooly prepared the usual presents, and sent them to Court, with the amount of the year's collections, with the same punctuality as he had hitherto done: and the new Emperor, being either engaged with more interesting concerns, or considering Moorshud Cooly as an unambitious and useful servant, conferred on him the united offices of Nazim and Dewan; the former of which he had hitherto only held as deputy; and, at his recommendation, appointed the nephew of Manickchund to be the Imperial treasurer, or banker, with the title of Juggett Sett.

On the death of Syed Reza Khan, the deputy Dewan of the province, the Nuwab procured that appointment for his grandson, Mirza Assud ad Dowlah, son of the deputy Nazim of Orissa, whom he intended for his heir, with the splendid title of Serferaz Khan. But, as it was the custom of Hindoostan, that on the death of any public officer, or immediate servant of the Crown, all his wealth and personal property were sequestered, and taken possession of by Government, leaving the family frequently quite destitute,—in order to prevent such an occurrence in his family, the Nuwab took the precaution of

purchasing, from the Talookdar of Chunarcolly, the zamindary of the city of Moorshudabad; and had the transaction registered in the books of the Canoungoes and of the exchequer; changing the name of the new purchase, in compliment to his grandson, to Assudnagur; that, in the event of his death, the profits of the estate, after paying the Royal revenue, might yield to his family the necessaries of life.

He also conferred the office of deputy Nazim of Dacca on Mirza Luft-ullah, who married his grand-daughter; and procured for him his own title of Moorshud Cooly Khan; thus bestowing upon his own family all the lucrative offices of government, and endeavouring to render his name permanent in the province.

As a further proof of the influence which Moorshud Cooly had acquired at the court of Dehly, it is stated, that Nejum Addeen Aly Khan, a brother of the two celebrated Syeds who had raised Ferrokhsere to the throne, wished for the title of Nasir Jung, which had been formerly conferred on the Governor of Bengal, and who was, in consequence, now requested to exchange it for another equally honourable; but the Nuwab wrote, with his own hand, to the Emperor, that he would never part with the title conferred on him by the great Aurungzebe, but with his life.

Moorshud Cooly Khan was sensible that Bengal owed much of its wealth to its external commerce: he therefore gave every encouragement to foreign merchants, especially to the Moguls and Arabians, from whom he only exacted the prescribed duties of 2½ per cent. and did not permit the custom-houses officers to take more than their regulated fees; but he was too keen a politician not to observe with jealousy the fortified factories of the Europeans, and the great advantages which the English had over the merchants, in consequence of the firmans and nishans; which they had obtained (he said) by means of bribery and corruption; and which permitted them to trade either duty free, or for the paltry consideration of 6000 ruppes per annum. When therefore he felt himself perfectly secure in his government, he set at nought the orders of the Prince Shuffa, and of the Emperor Aurungzebe; and demanded from the English, either the same duties that were paid by Hindoo subjects, or a constant renewal of presents, both to himself and to all the inferior departments. Such conduct, of course, irritated the English agents, who wrote a detail of their grievances to the Directors of the Company in England, and solicited permission to send an embassy to Dehly, to complain to the Emperor of the Nuwab's conduct. Their suggestion was approved of by the Company; and orders were sent to the Governors of Madras and Bombay, to unite their grievances in the same petition with those of Bengal.

The nomination of the Ambassadors was left to Mr. Hedges, the Governor of Calcutta; who, selected, for this purpose, Messrs. John Surman and Edward Stephenson, two of the ablest factors in the Bengal service; joining to them an Armenian, named Khoja Serhaud, who understood both the English and Persian languages, and who had been for many years the principal merchant in Calcutta. Mr. William Hamilton also accompanied the embassy, as surgeon.

At that period the government of Calcutta were very ignorant of the politics and intrigues of the Court of Dehly; and the Ambassadors had no other lights to direct their proceedings, than such as they obtained from the Armenian; who, although he had never been at Dehly, had procured a certain degree of information from some of his countrymen, whose extensive commercial concerns led them over every part of India; and who was very solicitous to be admitted into this honourable commission, in hopes of acquiring a large profit by the goods he should carry, free of charges and duties, in the train of the embassy. The presents designed for the Emperor and his officers consisted of curious glass ware, clock-work, brocades, and the finest manufactures of wollen-cloths and silks; valued, altogether, at 30,000*l.*; which Khoja Serhaud, in his letters to Dehly, magnified to 100,000*l.*; and gave such a description of the varieties which were coming, that Ferrokhsere ordered the embassy to be escorted by the Governors of the provinces through whose territories it might pass. The train proceeded on the Ganges; from Calcutta to Patna; and thence by land to Dehly; where they arrived on the 8th of July, 1715, after a march of three months.

The Ambassadors, upon their arrival at Court, very judiciously did not make their application through the Vizier, Syed Abdullah Khan, or his brother Hussein Aly Khan; the Ameer al Omrah; having discovered, that, notwithstanding the Emperor's obligations to these two chiefs, he was not attached to them, nor guided by their advice. The Ambassadors therefore chose for their patron a person named Khoja Hassen, who had accompanied Ferrokhsere from Bengal, and upon his accession to the throne had obtained the title of Khan Dewran. This person, who held the office of Paymaster-general, was a great favourite of the Emperor's, and was admitted to all his councils. In the meantime, the Nuyab of Bengal, who had from the first instant beheld the embassy with great jealousy, and who considered it as an imputation against the integrity of his conduct, took much pains, by his interest with the Vizier and his brother, the Ameer al Omrah, to thwart its success; and probably would have accomplished his object, if an accident had not placed the English Gentlemen, at once, in a high degree of favour with the Emperor himself.

Ferrokhsere had been for some time engaged to marry the daughter of Raja Ajeet Sing, one of the Rajepoot Princes; and the bride had arrived, for that purpose, at the capital: but the Emperor, being afflicted with a complaint which all the skill of his own physicians could not cure, was under the necessity of postponing the marriage. At length, in consequence of the recommendation of Khan Dowran, he permitted Mr. Hamilton, the surgeon of the Embassy, to attend him; and that gentleman having, by a judicious operation, restored the Emperor to health, became, very deservedly, a great favourite with his Majesty, who, in addition to many proofs of the Royal munificence*, promised to grant any other favour he should ask. Mr. Hamilton, instead of requesting any further reward for himself, besought his Majesty to concede to the English Ambassadors the object of their mission. The Emperor, surprised at Mr. Hamilton's disinterestedness, promised, that as soon as the marriage ceremonies were over, he would take the petition into his serious consideration, and grant the English every indulgence he could, consistent with the dignity of his own empire.

Shortly after this conversation, the marriage festivals commenced, and were celebrated with greater pomp and magnificence than had ever been witnessed in Hindoostan. This event interrupted all other business, and obliged the Ambassadors to wait for six months before they could procure a favourable opportunity of presenting their petition.

It was at length presented, in the month of January, 1716, and, besides various subjects of complaint from Bombay and Madras, stated the numerous impositions practised by the Nuwab of Bengal, and his inferior officers. It therefore prayed,

"That a *dustuck*, or passport, signed by the President of Calcutta, should exempt the goods it specified from being stopped or examined by the officers of the Bengal government, under any pretence."

* Among the presents given to Mr. Hamilton on this occasion, were medals of all his surgical instruments, made of pure gold.

In clearing away the ground for the foundation of the new church in Calcutta, about forty-four years ago, the tombstone of Mr. Hamilton was discovered; which, in addition to an English epitaph, bore a Persian inscription, thus translated by Mr. Gladwin: "William Hamilton, Physician in the service of the English Company, who had accompanied the English Ambassador to the enlightened presence, and having made his own name famous in the four quarters of the earth by the cure of the Emperor, the Asylum of the world, Mohammed Ferrukhsere the Victorious; and, with a thousand difficulties, having obtained permission from the Court, which is the refuge of the universe, to return to this country; by the Divine decree, on the fourth of December 1717, died in Calcutta, and is buried here."

"That the officers of the mint, at Moorahudabad, should at all times, when required, allow three days in the week for the postage of the English Company's money.

"That all persons, whether Europeans or natives, who might be indebted or accountable to the Company, should be delivered up to the Presidency at Calcutta, on the first demand.

"That the English might purchase the lordship of thirty-eight towns, with the same immunities as the Prince Azeem Ooshan had permitted them to buy Calcutta, Suttanutta, and Gorindpore."

Khan Dowran, whom the Ambassadors had chosen as their patron, not daring openly to espouse their cause, advised them to act as if they had no other reliance than on Syed Abul Kalam Khan, the Vizier; and even the Emperor, although he professed a general approbation of the petition, directed the several articles to be discussed by the different officers of the State, to whose cognizance they were deemed to belong.

This subjected the whole petition to the judgment of the Vizier; who, not without candour, disputed all the material articles, and readily allowed those of less importance. A second and a third petition were therefore presented to the Emperor; in consequence of which the Vizier was at length induced to give up all his objections; but, to the great disappointment of the ambassadors, the mandates were issued, not under the Emperor's, but under the seal of the Vizier; which, although carrying great authority in provinces near the capital, was likely to be little respected by the distant Viceroy, to whom these orders were addressed.

To increase the difficulties of the embassy, Khoja Serhaud, having been checked by his colleagues in some irregular proceedings, perplexed all their operations, and, as they thought, betrayed their counsils. Nevertheless, Messrs. Stephenson and Surman, with great steadiness and becoming spirit, returned the mandates; and determined to wait until they should obtain patents under the Imperial seal.

In the meantime, the agents of the Nuwab of Bengal exerted themselves to thwart the measure as much as possible; and by their influence and bribery postponed the business for fourteen months. At length the Ambassadors were advised to bribe a favourite Eunuch in the Seraglio; and, although not very sanguine in their expectations from this measure, were induced to comply: and to their great surprise, as soon as the money was paid, the Vizier, and all his dependants, appeared so much inclined to forward their views, as they had hitherto beenaverse; and soon after thirty-four patents, embracing all the different subjects of the petition, were issued in the Emperor's name; and the principal ones authenticated by the Imperial seal.

In the year 1130, A. D. 1718, Moorshud Cooly Khan obtained from Court the patents he had long solicited; conferring on him the government of Behar*, in addition to the united offices of Nazim and Dewan of Bengal and Orissa; which threw into his hands greater powers than had been entrusted to any Governor, since the introduction of the Emperor Akbar's regulations.

In the year of the Hejira 1131, A. D. 1719, the unfortunate Ferrokhsere was put to a cruel death†, by the very persons who had raised him to the throne; and the two young princes, Ruffeh ad Dirjaut, and Ruffeh ad Dowlah, in the course of seven months occupied the throne and their coffins; scarcely affording time to the Governor of Bengal to manifest the loyalty of his intentions. But as soon as Mohammed Shah was firmly seated on the throne, the Nulab prepared the usual presents, and forwarded them, with the collections of the year, to Dehly; and, in return, was confirmed in his government.

In the year 1132, A. D. 1720, after the murder of the two Syeds, Moorshud Cooly Khan again forwarded more valuable presents to the Emperory with a congratulatory letter on his success. He at the same time remitted to the Viziers the collection for the last year; and by such conduct, at a time that the other Governors were very remiss in their duty, maintained his reputation and influence at Court.

About this period, the government of Bengal was in some measure disturbed by an attempt at insurrection, by two of the Afghan Zemindars of Mahmoodabad; who, having collected a number of followers, plundered the adjoining districts, and had even the audacity to seize upon 60,000 rupees of the public treasure which was on the way to Moodshudabad. As soon as intelligence of this circumstance reached the Nulab, he ordered Ahsen Aly Khan, the Fojedar of Hoogly, to march against the insurgents; and that officer, having, by a rapid movement, surprised them, took them all prisoners, and sent them loaded with chains to the Nulab, who confiscated all their property, transferred their zemindaries to Ramiwun, his favourite Hindoo collector, and condemned them (being Mohammedans) to perpetual imprisonment; but in order that the government should not be losers by this disturbance, and to prevent a repetition of similar outrages, he caused all the zemindars in the vicinity of Mahmoodabad to pay their proportion of the 60,000 rupees, public money, which had been plundered.

* See Scott's History of the Dekkan, A. D. 1719.
† For the two or three first years of Ferrokhsere's reign, the government of Behar was held by Ameer Jumrah; but was afterwards transferred on Ser Balund Khan, who at this time was removed to Cabul.

Moorshud Cooly was indefatigable in the extirpation of robbers. Wherever a robbery was committed, he compelled the Fowjedar, or the Zemindar, either to find out the thief, or to recover the property. The goods, or their equivalent in money, were always restored to the persons who had been robbed; and the thief, whenever caught, was impaled alive.

At Cutwah and Moorshudgunge he erected guard-houses, for the protection of travellers; and gave the command of the police guards to one of his slaves, named Mohammed Jan, who was of a savage disposition, and who was always attended by a band of executioners; and whenever he caught a thief, used to have the body split in two, and hung upon trees on the high road; from which circumstance he was nick-named the Kolharah, or Axe.

By these severe means, during Moorshud Cooly Khan's government, travellers were protected on the roads, and every man slept securely in his own house.

Having, in the preceding pages, given what may be termed the dark side of Moorshud Cooly Khan's picture, we have now much pleasure in reversing the object; although we fear the portrait will still not be approved of by Englishmen. Both sides are however drawn by the same author; who, although anonymous, is allowed, by the Mohammedans, to have written with truth and impartiality.*

Excepting Shaitah Khan there has not appeared in Bengal, nor indeed in any part of Hindoostan, an Ameer who can be compared with Moorshud Cooly; for zeal, in the propagation of the faith; for wisdom, in the establishment of laws and regulations; for magnificence and liberality, in the encouragement and support given, to men of family and eminence; for rigid and impartial justice, in redressing wrongs, and punishing offenders; in short, whose whole administration so much tended to the benefit of mankind, and the glory of the Creator.

“His judicial decisions were so rational and proper, that they stood as much respected and obeyed as the decrees of those monarchs whose names are most renowned for equity and justice. He was such an observer of his word, that he never failed in the performance of any engagement: he slept but little, and carefully observed the allowed times of prayer; from breakfast to noon he employed himself in copying the Koran, and in administering justice: and every year he sent Korans

* This work was translated and published by Mr. Gladwin, Esq. of Calcutta, A.D. 1788, under the title of a Narrative of the Administration of Bengal; but the greater part of it has been inserted in the Asiatick Miscellany; and one extract from it is given in the Annals of Hindostan; with a late Hindostani work.

of his own writing, with valuable offerings, to Mecca, Medina, and other holy places.

"He maintained above two thousand readers, beadsmen, and chanters, who were constantly employed in reading the Koran, and in other acts of devotion. During the first twelve days of the month Rubby al Ayn, which include the birth and death of the holy Prophet, he feasted people of all conditions: and on those nights, the road from Maheenagur to Loll Baugh, which is above three miles, was illuminated with lamps, representing verses of the Koran, mosques, trees, and other figures. Nearly a hundred thousand persons were employed on these occasions; and, on the firing of a gun, the whole was illuminated at once, exhibiting, in an instant, such a sheet of light as astonished the beholders. He also kept the festival of the prophet Khizer, when paper boats, decorated with lighted lamps, are set afloat upon the river."

"Besides feeding a multitude of people, he also provided food for the beasts of the field and the fowls of the air."

"He always provided against famine, and severely prohibited all monopolies of grain: he constantly made private inquiries concerning the market-price of grain; and, whenever he discovered any imposition, the offenders suffered the most exemplary punishments. If the importation of grain to the cities and towns fell short of what had been usual, he sent officers into the country, who broke open the hoards of individuals, and compelled to carry their grain to the public markets. Rice was then commonly sold, at Moorshedabad, at four maunds for a rupee; and the prices of other provisions were in proportion. He also strictly prohibited the exportation of grain; and the Foujedar of Hoogly had express orders to see that no ship, belonging to Europeans or others, was suffered to carry away more than was sufficient for the victualing of the crew, during their intended voyage; neither were any merchants suffered to have any stores of grain."

"He was so punctual in the performance of all tokens of respect towards his Sovereign, that he would not sit down in a Royal boat; and when, in the rainy season, the Emperor's fleet of state boats came from Dacca, for an exhibition, he went out to meet it, and turning his face towards the seat of Government, made his obeisance; presented his *musir*, and

* This offering consists of a boat, or ship, constructed of bamboos and reed, of paper, ornamented with flags, lamps, &c. It is placed upon inverted earthen pots, and, being carried in procession to the river side, is launched into the river, amidst the acclamations of the populace and the beating of drums, and floats down the current with majestic pomp. It is called the offering of the Bhatta.

raised the deck of the royal barge. Engagements between elephants being prohibited from Court, he did not allow them within his jurisdiction; but used to exhibit and be present at those between elephants and tigers, and other animals. He took no delight in hunting; he never indulged himself with spirituous liquors, nor any intoxicating drugs; neither did he amuse himself with singers or dancers. He always kept constant to one lawful wife; and, out of his excess of delicacy, would not suffer any strange women, or eunuchs, to enter the apartments of his seraglio.

“ He despised all the refinements of luxury, and particularly in dress; and refrained from every thing that is prohibited in the law. No high-seasoned dishes were served up to his table; neither frozen sherbets, nor creams, but only plain ice. During the winter, Khyz Khan, his house-steward, used to collect, in the mountains of Rajmahal, a sufficient stock of ice for the rest of the year; and the whole was done at the expense of the zeminders of that district. In the mangoe season, there was stationed at Rajmahal an overseer, who used to keep a regular account of the choicest mangoe-trees in Maldab, Kutwalee, and Husseinpoor; and his guards were placed over them, to see that no one purloined the fruit, and that it was regularly sent to Meershedabad. The zeminders furnished every thing that was required for these purposes; and they must not cut down a mangoe-tree, nor touch any of the fruit, that the overseer had appropriated to the use of the Nazim's table.

“ He possessed very extensive learning; and paid great respect to men who were eminent for their piety or erudition; he wrote with great elegance, and was a remarkable fine penman: his skill in arithmetic enabled him to scrutinize all accounts himself; he signed all orders and accounts with red ink: he was a brave soldier, a liberal benefactor, upright and just in all his dealings, the steady protector of the weak; so that, during his government, the meanest peasant was secured from injustice and oppression.

“ He made no retrenchments in any Royal grants, or in those of former Roubahdars, for charitable purposes; but, on the contrary, increased them: no Zemindar or Aumil could, with impunity, oppress any one: wakels were continually in search of complainants; and whenever they met with any person who had reason to be dissatisfied, they used every endeavour to pacify him; but if it happened that a well-founded complaint reached the ears of Meershed Cooj, the offender was sure to suffer severely. If the officers of justice, out of partiality, or respect to rank, neglected to redress the meanest person, upon a representation thereof from the party aggrieved,

the Nuwab tried the cause himself; and in his decisions showed neither favour nor affection to any one, the rich and the poor bearing equal value in his sight.*

"In the beginning of the government of Moorshud Cooly, the Cutwall of Hoogly forcibly took away a young girl from the house of her father, a Mogul; and Ahsenullah, the Foujedar of that place, suffering the offence to pass unnoticed, the father carried his complaint before the Nuwab, who commanded that the offender should be stoned to death, conformably to the ordinance of the Koran; and notwithstanding all the entreaties of Ahsenullah, who was a great favourite, the sentence was actually executed.

"A Mohammedan beggar having asked charity of Bindrabund, a Hindoo landholder of Chenakholly, he was displeased at his manner, and turned him out of the house. The fakier collected together a number of bricks, with which he erected a wall on Bindrabund's road, and gave it the name of a mosque; and from it called the people to prayer. Whenever Bindrabund passed that way, he vociferated the summons to prayer, and so vexed him, that in rage he threw down some of the bricks, abused the fakier, and drove him away. The fakier complained to Moorshud Cooly; and Cazy Mohammed Sherah, in an assembly of men learned in the law, sentenced Bindrabund to be put to death. The Nuwab was not willing to take away his life; and asked the Cazy whether there was not any way of evading the strict letter of the law, to save the poor Hindoo. The Cazy answered, 'There may be so much delay, as to allow time for his intercessor to be put to death first; but after that, he must absolutely be executed.' All the endeavours of Moorshud Cooly, in his behalf, were ineffectual; and although Bindrabund was recommended to the Emperor's mercy by the Prince Azeem Oshan, yet it was of no avail; for the Cazy killed him with an arrow from his own hand. After the execution, Azeem Oshan complained to Aurangzabe, that Cazy Mohammed Sherah had killed Bindrabund in a fit of insanity; but the Emperor wrote with his own hand on the Prince's letter, 'Cazy Sherah is on the side of God.' At the death of Aurangzabe, Cazy Sherah applied for leave to resign, and all the entreaties of the Nuwab could not prevail upon him to continue in office."

* "Notwithstanding the high circumstances which are held to have prevailed upon the government of Moorshud Cooly, this memorable and cruelly executed by the Hindoos, who contemplate with heartfelt joy the happy incidents of the British sway over these regions, whereby they have been delivered from the fatal effects of Mohammedan superstition; and are produced either on the basis of the Koran, or by the force of equity, and common sense."

"The Nuwab, being now far advanced in years, and finding his health decline very fast, gave orders for building his tomb with a mosque, and a *kehtareh* (a square, with shops, &c.) Morad Ferash, a confidential but menial servant, was the person employed to superintend the work. He pitched upon a spot situated in the Khass Talook, on the east side of the city. He pulled down all the neighbouring Hindoo temples, and used the materials for raising the new work. The zemindars and other Hindoos, would have preserved their temples at any price; but no entreaties or bribes could prevail: not one was left standing in Moorshudabad, or at the distance of four days' journey from it. In the remote villages, many of the Hindoos' houses were threatened with destruction, upon pretence of their being dedicated to religious uses; and they were necessitated to redeem them by the payment of a sum of money. The servants of Hindoos of all ranks were compelled to work, unless their masters paid for their release. So great was the dread of Morad, that no one dared to complain; his written orders were circulated throughout the country, and implicitly obeyed. By these means, in the course of a year, the buildings were completed, and a *gunge* (a public market where duties are collected) annexed to the *kehtareh*, to keep the whole in repair."

In the year 1138, A. D. 1724, Moorshud Cooly Khan, apprehensive that he had not long to live, exerted all his interest and influence at the Court of Dehly, to preserve the succession to his government for his grandson, Serferaz Khan; and in all probability might have succeeded*, had not a powerful rival opposed his views, in the person of Shujaa Addeen Khan, the father of the young man, then deputy governor of Orissa; who, by his equability of temper, generosity, and strict administration of justice, had rendered himself respected and beloved in the province which he governed.

This person, aware of the intentions of the Nuwab, privately employed intelligent agents to carry on a correspondence, and negotiate for him, with Khan Dowran, who had succeeded Syed Hussein Aly Khan as Ameer al Omrah, and who was a great favourite with the Emperor. Between these personages it was arranged, that Khan Dowran should procure the appointment of Soubahdar or Governor for himself, but that he would nominate Shujaa Addeen, his deputy in the provinces of Bengal and Orissa.

* At this period, Nizam al Moolk had rebelled, and had taken possession of the Dekkan. The province of Guzerat had also revolted; and the ministers of Mohammed Shah were at variance, and only jealous of each other. See Asch's History of the Dekkan.

Supported by so powerful a patron, Shujaa began to devise the means of success; and for this purpose, he, under various pretences, dismissed several of his bravest officers to Moorshudabad. He also collected a number of boats for the speedy conveyance of his troops, should the event occur in the rainy season; and he established a private post, to bring him, twice a day, intelligence of the state of the Nuwab's health. At length, having received authentic information that Moorshud Gooly could not survive more than a few days, he appointed Mohammed Tackee Khan, his son by a concubine, to be his representative in Orissa; and, attended by his confidential officers and a select corps of cavalry, he quitted Cuttack; and before his arrival at Moorshudabad, he received, on the same day, positive accounts of the Nuwab's death, and his credentials from Khan Dowran, constituting him Deputy Governor of the provinces of Bengal and Orissa. Furnished with this document, he proceeded with expedition to the seat of government; and alighting at the palace called the *Chehel Setoon* (Forty Pillars), summoned all the public officers to attend him; and upon their arrival produced his patents, which he caused to be read aloud, and without opposition, took possession of the musoud; after which he received the congratulations of all the persons present, and caused the event to be notified by the shrill sounds of the Imperial music. This circumstance occurred early in the year of the Hejira 1139.

Previous to Moorshud Gooly Khan's decease, he appointed his grandson, Serferaz Khan, his public and private successor, and sole executor of his last testament; and, having delivered over to him the keys of all his treasures and valuable effects, he admonished him to behave with justice and humanity to all those who were placed under his authority: soon after which, he departed this transitory life. Serferaz Khan immediately sent intelligence of this event to Delhi; he also wrote to his father (of whose intentions he had no suspicion), to acquaint him of the circumstance; and, conformably to instructions contained in his grandfather's will, deposited his remains in the tomb which had been previously prepared, under the steps of the newly-erected mosque. He then assured all the public officers of his intention to retain them in their stations, should he be confirmed in the government; and afterwards removed all the treasure and effects of the deceased from the palace to his own house.

Of the first interview between the father and son, after this event, there have been two accounts written. In the *Sier MutaKhireen* it is stated, that the first intelligence Serferaz Khan had of his father's arrival, was from the sound of the Imperial music. Astonished by the noise, he inquired the

cause, and, to his utter confusion, learned the unexpected event. He immediately called a council of his intimate friends, who unanimously advised him, that, as his father had received and proclaimed his commission, had taken possession of the palace, and was acknowledged by the public officers, he had only to submit with a good grace. The young man, either agreeing in opinion with his friends, or averse to oppose his parent, hastened without any retinue to the palace, fell at his father's feet, and congratulated him upon his accession to the government.

In the work translated by Mr. Gladwin, it is related, that Serferaz Khan received early intelligence of the approach of his father, and that he made preparations to oppose him: but that his mother and grandmother, both women remarkable for their prudence and great sagacity, and for whom he entertained the utmost affection and respect, interposed, and represented to him, that his father being an old man, could not keep him long out of the government, or, at least, from the inheritance to Moorshud Cooly Khan's private estate; and therefore advised him to be satisfied, for the present, with the office of Dewan of Bengal; and not to be guilty of the horrid impiety of appearing in arms against his father, which would fix a reproach upon his name to all eternity. These arguments prevailed so entirely over the ambition of Serferaz Khan, that he advanced to meet his father, and conducted him to Moorshudabad; and, after resigning to him the palace, retired to his own house at Nuktahaly; and from that time never failed to pay his respects to him every morning.

NUWAB MOTIMUN AL MOOLK, SHUJAA ADDEEN.

MOHAMMED KHAN, SHUJAA AD-DOWLAH,

ASSUD JUNG, BEHADUR.

Origin of Shujaa Addeen Khan—Marries the daughter of Moorshud Cooly Khan—Appointed Deputy Governor of Orissa—Takes into his service two brothers, named Hajj Ahmed and Aly Verdj Khan—Shuja Addeen obtains the deputy Government of Bengal and Orissa—Appoints his son Dewan of the province—Releases the zemindars from their captivity—Sends a large sum of money, and various presents, to the Emperor Mohammed Shah—Distributes the subordinate appointments among his friends—Remits the amount of the revenues regularly to Dehly—Instances of his magnificence and charity. Increases his

his army—Becomes indolent and luxurious—Constructs a beautiful garden in the vicinity of Moorshudabad—The province of Behar again annexed to the government of Bengal—The Nuwab appoints Aly Verdy Khan to be his deputy in Behar—Aly Verdy proceeds to Patna—Takes into his service a corps of Afghans—Subdues the refractory Zemindars—Promoted by the Emperor—Assassinates the Afghan Chief—Reasons assigned for this conduct—Origin of the Ostend East-India Company—One of their ships arrives in Bengal; the commander of which applies for, and obtains ground to erect a Factory at Bankybazar—The trade flourishes—The agents surround the factory with a wall and bastions—The Emperor of Germany withdraws his Charter from the Company—The commerce still carried on by individuals—The English seize one of the Austrian ships—Prevail upon the Nuwab to order the fortifications of Bankybazar to be destroyed—The Germans oppose these measures—The Nuwab's troops lay siege to the factory—The native servants desert—The Agent wounded—embarks with the few Europeans on board one of their own ships, and quits Bengal—The factory destroyed—A dispute between the English of Calcutta and the Foujedar of Hoogly—The Kingdom of Tipperah made a province of the Moghul Empire—Dissensions between the Nuwab's sons—Death of Mohammed Tuckee Khan—The Nuwab appoints Moorshud Cooly Khan to be his deputy in Orissa; and Serferaz Khan governor of Dacca—Exemplary character of Jeswant Roy, Dewan of Dacca, who reduces the price of grain, and opens the western gate erected by Shaishta Khan—resigns his office—Sayid Amed, Foujedar of Rungpore, invades Dinagepore and Couch Beykar, and obtains much treasure—The Nuwab appoints Serferaz Khan his Heir—his Death.

THIS officer was, by descent, an Afshar, of the tribe of Turcomans, who formerly inhabited Khorassan, the eastern province of Peasia, and were esteemed the bravest soldiers in the kingdom. He was born in the city of Boorhanpore, in the Dekhan; and during his youth, having contracted an intimacy with Moorshud Cooly Khan, who was then Dewan of Hyderabad, married his only daughter, name Zynet al Nissa, Begum; by whom he had a son called Mirza Assudallah, whose title was Serferaz Khan: he had also another son, by a concubine, named Mohammed Tuckee.

When Moorshud Cooly was appointed Dewan of Bengal, his son-in-law accompanied him thither; and upon the former being promoted to the united governments of Bengal and

Orissa, he sent the latter, as his deputy, to govern Orissa. In this situation Shujaa Addeen Khan conducted himself, as a public officer, with much propriety : but being of a luxurious disposition, and addicted to gallantry, he gave much offence to his wife ; who in consequence separated from him, and, with her son, went to reside at Moorshudabad.

Shortly after this event, a person, named Mirza Mohammed, who had married a near relation of Shujaa Addeen Khan, came, with his two sons, from Dehly to Cuttack ; and were all three admitted into the service of the Governor. The senior of the brothers was named Hajy* Ahmed ; the junior, Mirza Mohammed Aly, better known by the title of Aly Verdy Khan. These were both men of liberal education and distinguished abilities ; and, by their counsels, not only ingratiated themselves with the Governor, but rendered his government popular, respectable, and beneficial to the empire.

In the preceding chapter it has been stated, that when Moorshud. Cooly Khan found his dissolution approaching, he had endeavoured to procure the succession to his government for his grandson, Serferaz Khan ; but that Shujaa Addeen had, by the exertions of his agents at Dehly, effected a different arrangement ; by which he was nominated the deputy of Khan Dowran, the Ameer al Omrah, who had procured from the Emperor the government for himself ; and that Shujaa Addeen, by his dextrous management, had obtained possession of his office without any opposition :

The new Governor, in order to reward his son for his forbearance, and to reconcile himself to his wife, nominated the former, Dewan of Bengal ; but as that office required an intricate knowledge of accounts, and much attention to business, he appointed Roy Alum Chund, the comptroller of the household, to be the deputy of the young man ; by which the latter was relieved from all the toils and responsibility of the office, and his father was satisfied that the duty would be diligently performed. The Nuwab, immediately after, selected a Council, consisting of the two brothers, Hajy Ahmed and Aly Verdy Khan ; Roy Alum Chund, for whom he procured the title of Roy Royan ; and the Imperial banker, Juggut Sett ; and by their advice conducted himself in all the measure of his government. The two latter were Hindoos, and were well acquainted with the minute details of business and all the intricacies of the revenue department.

Shujaa Addeen commenced his government by an act of clemency and justice, which does him the highest honour, and

* Hajy is a title conferred on all persons who have made the pilgrimage to Mecca : he had just returned from Arabia.

rendered him extremely popular through all the three provinces.

He gave orders that the unhappy zemindars, who had been kept in a miserable state of confinement during the long government of his predecessor, should upon giving security for their good conduct, be permitted to return to their families and homes, and to the management of their farms.

He also immediately despatched the sum of forty lacs of rupees in specie, being part of the private fortune of his father-in-law, to the Court of Mohammed Shah ; and sent also a number of elephants, and other valuable presents, to the Emperor and to his ministers ; in return for which he received a confirmation of his appointment, as Governor of Bengal and Orissa ; a commission of commander of 7000 horse ; and the additional titles of Motimun al Moolk, Shujaa ad Dowlah Assud Jung, Behadur.

The government of Behar was however again separated, and conferred on an officer named Nusserit Yar Khan, and afterwards on Fakher ad Dowlah. As soon as Shujaa Addeen was confirmed in his government, he disposed of the public appointments amongst his connections and friends, in the following manner : to his son Serferaz Khan, as formerly mentioned, the office of Dewan ; to his other son, Mohammed Tuckee, the government of Orissa. He confirmed Moorsrud Cooly Khan, his son-in-law, in the deputy government of Dacca. To the three sons of his chief councillor, Hajj Ahmed, viz Nuazish Mohammed, Sayid Ahmed, and Zin Addeen, he gave the offices of Paymaster-general, Foujedar of Rungpore, and Foujedar of Rajmahal ; and upon Shujaa Cooly, an old servant, he conferred the office of Foujedar of Hoogly. His other counsellor, Aly Verdy Khan, had not any sons, but his three daughters were married to the sons of his brother Hajj Ahmed.

The new Governor imitated the conduct of his predecessor, in despatching to Court regularly, at the end of the year, the amount of the revenues ; and had the satisfaction to find, that, notwithstanding his liberal treatment to the zemindars, the revenue, instead of being diminished, had increased : for whereas Moorsrud Cooly had seldom remitted more than one crore and thirty lacs of rupees, the amount of his collections for the year 1141, amounted to one crore and forty-eight lacs, all of which was remitted to Moorsrudabad by the agents of the Imperial banker, Jugget Sett, without any difficulty or oppression.

His mind being thus freed from public cares, he followed the natural bent of his inclinations, and lived in a style of splendor and munificence that far surpassed any of his pre-

decessors. The palace of Moorshud Cooly Khan being too confined and ill-contrived, he ordered it to be pulled down, and erected another more suitable to his ideas of grandeur and comfort. He was very liberal to his servants, and paid great attention to men of learning and piety: he was also very charitable, and administered justice with great impartiality. He ordered the conduct of Nazir Ahmed and Morad, two of the oppressive instruments of his predecessor, to be closely investigated; and, having proved them guilty of various crimes and oppressions, condemned them to death. Being convinced that the very reduced military establishment kept up by Moorshud Cooly Khan was inadequate to the security and peace of the country, he augmented his army to 25,000, consisting of equal numbers of cavalry, and infantry armed with matchlocks. In short, by his general conduct in the early part of his government, Shujaa Addeen evinced to the world that he was deserving of his good fortune; but after some years he became indolent, and abandoned himself too much to luxury and pleasure, leaving the business to be managed by his Council.

In the village of Dehpareh, on the bank of the Bhaggarrutty river, Nazir Ahmed had begun to build a mosque in the middle of a very extensive garden. After the execution of that person, the Governor finished the mosque in a superb style, and laid out the garden with great beauty and elegance. To this place he gave the name of *Ferreh Baug* (the Garden of Happiness); and in the summer retired thither with his seraglio, and passed his time in the enjoyment of every luxury.

In the year 1143, A. D. 1729-30, Fakher ad Dowlah, the governor of Behar, having been guilty of some impropriety, was removed from that office; and through the influence of Khan Dowran, the Paymaster-general, the government of that province was again annexed to Bengal; and Shujaa Addeen Khan was, in consequence, ordered to appoint his own deputy to that important situation.

It was the wish of the Governor to have appointed one of his own sons; but Zynet al Nissa, his wife, who, as the heiress of Moorshud Cooly, interfered frequently in the government,

* So strong an opinion had this lady of her own consequence, that, when it was determined Aly Verdy Khan should be appointed to Behar, she sent for him to the gate of her apartments, and conferred on him the khilaat or robe of honour, as from herself; after which her husband presented him with his patent, and other insignia of office. This idea was however extremely erroneous, as there is no hereditary rank in Hindoostan, much less a right of succession to a government; nor was it, I believe ever attempted with success, till the power of the Mogul Emperor was annihilated by the invasion of Nadir Shah and the events which ensued.

refused to part with her son Serferaz Khan; and was at the same time jealous of its being conferred on the son of the concubine, lest it should make him of too much consequence: the subject was therefore left to the consideration of the Council, who recommended Aly Verdy Khan, as the person best qualified to preserve the dignity of the situation, and to keep in subjection the zemindars of that province, who were noted for their independence and strong spirit of insurrection. Aly Verdy Khan was, in consequence, invested with the robes of office, and was sent to Patna, with an escort of 5000 troops.

Upon the arrival of Aly Verdy Khan at Patna, he found the whole province of Behar in the greatest confusion: a band of robbers, called *Bunjareh*, who had entered it under the pretence of purchasing grain and other commodities, laid the country through which they passed under heavy contribution, and plundered the collectors of the revenue. The zemindars of Bettiah Phoolwarah, Chuckwar, and Bortepore, were also in a state of insurrection, and had for some time set at defiance the authority of the Governor.

To reduce these people to submission, Aly Verdy Khan found it requisite to take into his service a corps of Afghans, under the command of their chief, Abdul Kereem Khan. With these, and the forces he had taken from Moorshudabad, he first attacked and routed the Bunjarehs, taking from them all their plunder: after which, he, in succession, reduced the zemindars to obedience; and compelled them not only to liquidate the arrears of revenue, but to pay him large sums of money, under the denomination of *Nuzzeraneh* and *Peishkush* (offering and tribute). By these means Aly Verdy Khan acquired much wealth, and his troops were also enriched by plunder. In consequence of these services, and at the recommendation of the Nuwab, he received from the Emperor an increase of his military rank, and the title of Mohubut Jung.

He however tarnished these honours shortly after, by the assassination of Abdul Kereem Khan, the commander of the Afghans, whose services had been so useful to him. This harsh measure he excused to his friends, by stating, that the overbearing conduct and insolence of that officer had arisen to such a height, that he found he must either get rid of him, or have given up his own authority.*

It now becomes requisite to notice the introduction of another European nation into Bengal. About the year 1717,

* After the dissolution of the Afghan empire, corps of these people were taken into the service of the Hindoo Princes and Mogul Governments: they are esteemed brave troops, but very mutinous; and unsteady in their attachment, unless to their own chiefs.

some merchants of the Austrian Netherlands, who had long wished to participate in the advantageous commerce of the East, fitted out two ships for India, which made a very successful voyage. This circumstance stimulated others; and application was made to the Court of Vienna for permission to establish an East-India Company at Ostend. Although this measure was strongly opposed by the English, French, and Dutch, the Emperor of Germany granted, in August 1723, to the merchants of the Austrian Netherlands,* his letters-patent, authorizing them to trade to the East Indies, under the denomination of the Ostend Company.

In the meantime, one of the private ships arrived in the Ganges; and, by the assistance of the French at Chandernagore, succeeded in procuring a full cargo: and the captain of this ship, previous to his departure, made application to Moorshud Cooly Khan, then Governor of Bengal, for ground to erect a factory, should the Company be established. As the Nuwab was not only anxious to increase the trade of the province, but also desirous of introducing more rivals to the English, of whose privileges it has been already seen he was excessively jealous, he immediately complied with the request, and assigned the village of Bankybazar, situated in the eastern side of the river, fifteen miles above Calcutta, for the residence of the Germans.

In 1724, being the first year after the establishment of the New Company, an Ostend ship, named the Emperor Charles, mounting thirty guns, arrived in Bengal, but was lost in going up the Ganges. The greater part of her cargo was however saved; and the officers and crew took possession of Bankybazar, and erected temporary houses.

In the two following years, three ships, of a larger size than the first, arrived in Bengal, and completely established the Ostend trade in that province; and as they undersold the other Europeans in various articles, their factory quickly rose in estimation.

At first, the factors resided in houses constructed of mats and bamboos; but they afterwards built brick dwellings, and surrounded their factory with a wall, having bastions at the angles: they also cut a ditch, communicating with the river, of such a depth as to admit sloops of considerable burthen.

Thus the affairs of the Ostend Company seemed to be in a flourishing state: but, in the year 1727, the strong remonstrances of the three great maritime nations compelled the Emperor of Germany to withdraw his charter, and to agree that all traffic between his subjects of the Austrian Netherlands

* See Modern Universal History, vol. XI. page 211.

and the East Indies should cease for seven years. Notwithstanding this prohibition, the private merchants occasionally sent out ships to India; and, as the Agent of the head of the factory in Bengal was a person of great activity and determination, he continued to furnish them with cargoes.

This traffic, although carried on clandestinely, could not escape the notice of the Dutch and English; the latter of whom, in the year 1730, sent a squadron, under the command of Captain Gosfright, of the ship *Fordwich*, to blockade the river Ganges. The Commodore sailed up the river; and having obtained intelligence that two Ostend ships were anchored between Calcutta and Bankybazur, despatched two of his squadron to take them. On the first shot being fired, the *Saint Theresa*, the smallest of the Ostend ships, struck her colours, was immediately taken possession of, and carried to Calcutta; but the other slipped her cable, and took shelter under the guns of Bankybazur factory, whither it was not deemed expedient to follow her; and she afterwards had the good fortune to escape.

Sometime after this event, the Dutch and English united all their influence to prevail upon the Nuwab to prohibit the Germans from trading to Bengal; and, it is said, bribed the Foujedar of Hoogly to make a false representation of the great strength of the fortifications of Bankybazur, and the danger of allowing foreigners to retain a place of such strength within a few miles of the Royal port.

This representation induced the Governor to order the fortifications of Bankybazur to be dismantled: violent disputes in consequence ensued between the German agent and the Foujedar; and at length a considerable force was sent from Hoogly, under the command of an officer named Meer Jaffer, who surrounded the place on the land side; but acted with so much caution, that he threw up an entrenchment in front of his encampment, to defend his troops from the fire of the besieged; who, in the mean time, completely commanded the river, and only permitted such boats as they pleased to pass. The French at Chandernagore secretly aided the Germans, with arms and ammunition, whilst they ostensibly pretended to assist in negotiating a treaty of peace.

Khojeh Fazel Cashmeery, one of the principal Magul merchants of Hoogly, having also offered his services as a mediator, sent his son with a message to Bankybazur; but the Germans seized the young man, and detained him as a hostage for their own security; and the Foujedar had such an esteem for Khojeh Fazel, that, in order to procure the liberation of the youth, he for some days suspended hostilities: but having procured his liberation, he again renewed the siege with more

vigour, both by land and by water; till, at length, provisions becoming very scarce in Bankybazar, all the natives of every description deserted, and left the Europeans to defend themselves. Notwithstanding the garrison was, by this means, reduced to fourteen persons, they continued to serve their guns with such efficacy, that not one of the Mogul troops durst venture out of the entrenchments. At length the Agent had the misfortune to lose his right arm by a cannon ball; after which he embarked, with his men, during the night, and reached in safety one of the ships belonging to his nation, which was at anchor down the river; and shortly after proceeded to Europe.

In the morning when the Mogul troops took possession of the factory, they found nothing of value in it, but the cannon and a few shells. After levelling the fortifications with the ground, and delivering over Bankybazar to the Zemindar, Meer Jaffer returned in triumph to Hoogly.*

Shuja Addeen Khan, being of a liberal disposition, and averse to trouble, allowed the English and other Europeans to enjoy the privileges that had been granted to them by the Emperor Ferrokhsere, or by former Governors; and the only dispute that is recorded to have happened during his time, was occasioned by the Poutjedar of Hoogly stopping a boat, laden with bales of silk, belonging to the English Company; in consequence of which a party of soldiers was despatched from Calcutta, who terrified the Poutjedar, and carried away the silk and other goods which had been stopt. This transaction was represented to the Niwab as a very heinous offence; and he, in consequence, prohibited the natives from supplying Calcutta, or any of the subordinate factories, with grain. The English were therefore compelled to purchase peace, by the payment of a large sum of money, and by apologising for their misconduct.

It has been previously stated, that on the succession of Shuja Addeen Khan to the government, he confirmed his son-in-law, Moorshud Cooly, in the appointment of Deputy Nazim of Dacca. Moorshud Cooly employed, as his Dewan, a person named Meer Hubbeeb, a native of Shiraz in Persia, who had been a broker at Hoogly; and who, although he could neither

* The whole of these circumstances, respecting the Germans, is stated, by the author translated by Mr. Gladwin, to have happened during the government of Moorshud Cooly Khan; but by Mr. Orme their expulsion is postponed till A. D. 1748. It is however apparent, by the History of the Ostend Company, that their factory was in existence A. D. 1730, and that their last ships left in Bengal in 1733. See Universal History, vol. XI.

read nor write, possessed great activity of mind and expertness in business. This man was very industrious in office, and made considerable retrenchments in the boat department and other expensive establishments. He also acquired large sums for his master, by the sale of monopolies; and is said to have treacherously put to death Noor Allah, the zemindar of Jilalpoore, on account of his great wealth.

Sometime after this event, a nephew of the Raja of Tipperah, having displeased his uncle, was banished the country. The youth took refuge with a Mohammedan zemindar, named Aka Sadik, and entreated him to assist him in recovering the share of his inheritance. The zemindar being intimately acquainted with Meer Hubbeeb, recommended the cause of the young man to him; and pointed out the favourable opportunity it offered of subjecting Tipperah to the Mohammedan arms.

Meer Hubbeeb, having represented the circumstances to his master, obtained permission to proceed with all the troops that were then in the vicinity of Dacca, to effect the object. The Mogul troops crossed the Burhampooter, and entered Tipperah before the Raja was aware of their intentions; and having the young man with them whose cause they espoused, he pointed out to them the road by which they should advance. Aided by such a guide, they reached the capital before the Raja could make any preparation to oppose them: he was obliged to flee to the mountains, and the nephew was raised to the Raja, upon condition of paying a large portion of the revenue to the Governor of Bengal. The whole country, in consequence, quietly submitted: and thus the province of Tipperah, which from time immemorial had been an independent kingdom, became annexed to the Mogul empire: and in order to support the young Raja against his uncle, and at the same time to secure his fealty, a considerable number of Mohammedan troops were left in the country, under the command of Aka Sadik, who was nominated Foujedar. On receiving intelligence of this event, the Nuwab was much pleased, and changed the name of Tipperah to Roshenabad* (the Country of Light), and gave to, or procured for, Moorsbud Cooly the additional title of Behadur; and to Meer Hubbeeb that of Khan.

In the year 1146, Mohammed Tuckee, the illegitimate son of the Nuwab, went from Orissa, to pay his respects to his father; but during his residence at Moorsbudabad, disputes ran so high between him and his brother, that each drew out

* Probably from the Eastern limit of the Empire. It is still so called in the Public Records.

their followers, and would actually have come to a pitched battle; had they not been prevented by the interposition of their father; whose authority, joined to the mediation of the females of the family, effected an apparent reconciliation; and Mohammed returned to Cuttack, where he died in the following year.

Upon the death of Mohammed Tuckee Khan, the Nawab promoted his son-in-law, Moorshud Cooly Khan Behadur, for whom he procured the title of Nustem Jung (the Hercules in battle), to the deputy government of Orissa; who carried with him to that province, his Dewan, Meer Hubeeb. Through the management of the latter, the revenues of Orissa were considerably increased, and his expenses diminished. During the government of Mohammed Tuckee, the Raja of Porsotem had carried away the idol of Jagannath^a across the river Jelkeh (Chilka Lake), beyond the boundary of Orissa, and placed it in a mountain; which circumstance injured the revenue of Orissa to the amount of nine lacs of rupees per annum, being the usual amount of the collection from the pilgrims.

The first care of the new Governor and his indefatigable Dewan, although strict Mohammedans, was to compel the Raja of Porsotem to restore the idol to its ancient temple, where it has ever since remained undisturbed; and continues to attract a number of votaries to its shrine, and to enrich the rulers of the province.

When Moorshud Cooly Khan was removed to Orissa, the Nawab gave the government of Dacca to his son Serferaz Khan; but ordered him to send thither, as his deputy, Syed Ghali Ahy Khan, a person who asserted his descent from the Kings of Persia: he also nominated Jeswont Roy, who had been preceptor to Serferaz Khan, to be Dewan, and to have the actual management of all affairs. The superintendence of the boat department was entrusted to Murad Ahy Khan, who was married to a daughter of Serferaz Khan; and who had in his employment an accountant named Rajballab, of whom more will be hereafter related.

When these officers arrived at Dacca, Jeswont Roy was, in obedience to the Nawab's orders, invested with the entire management of the revenues. He had been educated under the late Nawab, Moorshud Cooly Khan, whose example he emulated, in piety, integrity, and indefatigable attention to business; and in forming his arrangements for the benefit of the government, studied to render them conducive to the

^a Properly Jag-Nath (Lord of the World). This temple is situated in the town of Porsotem.

general ease and happiness of the people. He abolished the monopolies which had been introduced by Meer Hubbesb, and also the impositions laid upon grain.

It was related, in the account of the government of Shaista Khan, that when he left Dacca to return to Dehly, he built up the western gate, and inscribed over it an execration against any future Governor who should presume to open it till he had reduced the price of grain to a *dumree* per seer, or 640 pounds weight for the rupee. The gate had continued closed to this time; when Jeswont Roy, having succeeded in reducing the price of grain to Shaista Khan's standard, ordered it to be opened.

By the prudent administration, of a system of sound policy, and humanity, the rich province of Dacca was cultivated in every part, and abounded in every thing requisite for the comfort and gratification of its inhabitants. Justice was administered with impartiality; and the conduct of Ghalib Aly Khan, and Jeswont Roy gained great credit to their principal, Serfraz Khan.

As the Nuwab was far advanced in years, he relaxed in his attention to business, and entrusted the management of affairs much to his son; ordering him, however, constantly to consult with Hajy Ahmed, and the other members of his Council. The young man did not, however, comply with this injunction, and the circumstance caused a jealousy to arise between him and the Hajy.

After some time, Nuffessa Begum, the sister of Serfraz Khan, persuaded her husband to recall Ghalib Aly Khan from Dacca, and to promote his son-in-law, Murad Aly, to the government. This young man appointed Rajbulub to be Peishkar, or head clerk, of the heat department; and commenced his government with many acts of oppression. Jeswont Roy, the Dewan, who had gained so high a reputation for his conduct, beheld these measures with aversion; and resolving not to be a participator in them, resigned his appointment, and returned to Moorshudabad. Upon his resignation, the new government gave a loose to their rapacity and violence, till they reduced the country to a state of comparative poverty and desolation.

About this period, Sayid Ahmed, the second son of Hajy Ahmed, who, upon the succession of Shujaa Addeen Khan, had been appointed Fajjedar of Rangpore, and who is accused of having ruled that district with great oppression, having procured from Moorshudabad a considerable army, invaded Dinagapore and Cooch Behar; and after compelling the Rajas to take refuge in the woods and mountains, got possession of those countries; together with the immense treasures which

the Rajas and their ancestors had amassed. When intelligence of this event was received at Moorshudabad, the Nuwab was pleased to confer the title of Khan Behadur on Sayid Ahmed, a circumstance which was exceedingly flattering to the young man's father.

The enemies of this family have asserted, that notwithstanding the numerous benefits conferred on them by Shujaa Addeen Khan, they were constantly plotting to render themselves independent of his son; by sending their wealth to Patna, and by remitting large sums of money to Dehly, to procure for Aly Verdy Khan, upon the death of the Nuwab, the distinct government of Behar; but of this part of the accusation there does not appear to be any proof. Even had he done so, although moralists might condemn his conduct as a breach of private friendship, he would have been perfectly acquitted by those acquainted with the politics of Hindoostan and the conduct of public men; as it is evident that Serferaz Khan had no more right to the government, than the son of the Nobleman who now holds that important office has to the succession.

The only attempt at insurrection during the government of Shujaa Addeen Khan, was by the Zemindar of Bheerbhoom, named Budy al Zeman,† who was for a short time in a state of rebellion. He was however quickly reduced, and compelled to pay, in addition to his former revenue, the sum of three lacs of rupees.

At the period that the Persian usurper, Nadir Shah, entered into Hindoostan, and that the Court of Dehly was in a state of the greatest perturbation at his approach, Shujaa Addeen Khan, finding his infirmities daily increase, and that he had but a short time to live, sent to Orissa, Doordaneh Begum the wife, and Yabia the son, of Moorshud Cooch Khan, who, at the instigation of Serferaz Khan, had been detained as hostages for the good conduct of Moorshud Cooch. He then appointed Serferaz Khan his heir, on condition that he would regard the Hajj, the Roy Royan, and Juggut Sett, as the steadfast counsellors of his father, and follow their advice in all affairs of moment. Although Serferaz Khan bore no cordiality towards these men, yet, for fear of offending his dying parent, he promised to obey his commands. A very few days after this event, viz. on the 13th Zilhijeh 1151, A. D. 1739, Shujaa Addeen resigned his soul to his Maker, universally

* This was an assumed power, on the part of the Nuwab, and can be only accounted for by the weak state of the Mogul Government, during the reign of Mohammed Shah.

† He was the son of Asudd Allah; and imitated the conduct of his father, but he was not so successful.

regretted, as a man of strict veracity, general philanthropy, and unbounded liberality. Previous to his decease, he had erected a mosque and a mausoleum at Dehpareh, opposite to Moorshudabad, and was buried therein.

STATE OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE MOGUL EMPIRE AND OF BENGAL, AT THE BEGINNING OF THE ENGLISH WARS IN INDIA.

*Aurangzebe ascended the throne after deposing his father Shah Jehan—Revenue of the Empire—The Sons of Aurangzebe contend for the dominions of their father—Combination of the great men, who raised and deposed a succession of Emperors, when Mahomed Shah breaking the fetters of Royalty, regained the crown—Thomas Kouli Khan, (Nadir Shah) invades the Mogul Empire with a numerous Army—The Emperor quite distracted at the event, takes the field in person—Encamped on the plains of Kurnal—His troops in disorder—Saadit Khan, one of the King's generals offers to attack the Persian army—The battle becomes general—The Mogul army routed—Nizam al Moolk, his minister, empowered to treat with the Invader—The meeting of the Kings—The Invader compels the Emperor to indemnify him for the expenses of the war, and quits Dehly for his own city of Kandahar, after massacring 200,000 Inhabitants and taking with him more than 70,000,000*l.* in money and jewels—The seat of the English affairs, the provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa governed by Shujaa Khan—Two Moguls named Hadjy Ahmed and Allyverde Khan, received in his service—The character of Hadjy Ahmed, who discovers his master's ruling passion and sacrifices his daughter to him—Allyverde Khan appointed Nabob of Patna—Hadjy privately obtains a phirmaund for his brother to hold the government of Behar, independent of Bengal—The death of Shujaa Khan—Serferaz Khan succeeds him in his government—His excessive Debauchery—Loses the affections of those who would support him—Disgrace put on Jugget Sett, the greatest banker in the world—Hadjy tenders his own and his brother's services to revenge the dishonour—Jugget Sett and a husband contrive to get Hadjy removed to Patna—Allyverde Khan murders against the Subah who roused from his delusive slumbers, upbraids his counsellors with their treachery—Attacks Allyverde Khan till overpowered by numbers.*

yielded to the superior fortune of his rival—*Allypore Khan* takes possession of *Moorshedabad*—Appoints his brother in his absence, and marches against *Musset Cooly Khan*, in *Cuttack*, who afterwards flies to *Dekkan*—Invaded by the *Marhattas*—Account of their origin—cause of their Invasion—Surrounds the *Soubah*—demands the revenue due to the *Crown*, for the two last years and the treasures of *Shujau* and *Serferaz Khan*—The *Soubah* attacks the *Marhattas* and cuts his way to the capital, pursued by them till he reached *Cutwa*—Crosses the river with his army in the presence of the enemy by the gallant intrepidity of *Mustapha Khan* and *Meer Jaffer*—Establishes his character, as a soldier—Levies large troops in *Behar*—Again takes the field against the *Marhattas*—*Meer Hubbeeb*, the Deputy Governor of *Dacca* deserts the *Soubah's* party—The *Marhattas* demand the resignation of his government in favor of *Serferaz Khan's* eldest son.—*Boschar Pundit* treacherously assassinated, and the *Marhattas* seeing the fate of their chief, speedily flies to the *Boorbhoom hills*—A fresh army of *Marhattas* enter by way of *Cuttack* under *Ragojee* and another by way of *Patna* under *Balajee Rao*—The *Soubah* returns to his capital and after fortifying the city again takes the field, but by the mediation of *Sarazarum*, a peace was concluded—Appoints *Zaindee Ahmed Khan* *Nabob* of *Patna*—Determines to assassinate his General, *Mustapha Khan*, who apprized of the *Soubah's* designs and taking *Shumser Khan* with a considerable body of *Pattans*, proceeds on his route towards *Behar*—The *Pattans* on receiving the account of *Zaindee Ahmed Khan's* pursuit of them, instantly attacks the *Soubah*—The Death of *Mustapha Khan*—The flight of the *Pattans*, to their country, with *Shumser Khan*—The body of *Mustapha Khan* exposed in the streets of *Patna*—The *Marhattas* renew their incursions—The miserable end of *Hodjy Ahmed*—The armies meet at *Boglepore*—The *Marhattas* and the *Pattans* totally routed—A firm treaty settled with the *Marhattas*—The *Soubah* nominates *Seraje ad Dowlah* his Successor—Unpromising qualities of *Seraje ad Dowlah*—Instigates *Aga Saddoe* to cause an insurrection at *Dacca*, but fails—*Seraje ad Dowlah* causes *Husein Cooly Khan* to be murdered in the streets of *Moorshedabad*—The *Nabob* dies—*Seraje ad Dowlah* succeeds to the *Soubahship*—The *Nabob* previous to his death exhorts *Seraje ad Dowlah* to take precautions from the growing power of the *English*—*Mr. North's* Account of the *Nabob's* Court previous to his death—The motives which instigated *Seraje ad Dowlah* to declare *War* against the *English*.

FROM the conquest of India by Tamerlane, about the year 1398, the throne of the empire descended through a line of Mahomedan princes to Aurengzebe; who, deposing his father in 1666, maintained himself in the possession of the throne till 1707, when he died. The revenues of the empire are said to have been raised by this prince to the annual sum of thirty-eight millions of pounds sterling. The sons of Aurengzebe contending for the dominions of their father, became subject to a combination of the great men of the empire, who raised and deposed at their pleasure a succession of Emperors, till Mahommed Shah breaking the fetters of royalty, regained the authority of the crown, of which he was in possession in the year 1738, when *Thamas Kouli Khan*, usurper of the throne of Persia, invaded the Mogul empire with an army of an hundred and sixty thousand men. About a third part of the number were servants and attendants on the army, the rest were soldiers inured to the hardships and dangers of war; and they and their leader were animated with the hopes of plundering the richest country in the world. When the news of their approach arrived at Delhi, the imperial city, the Emperor was distracted with the divided counsels of his court. An old experienced general intreated his majesty to allow him to pick fifty thousand of his troops, with which he would give the invader sufficient employment to prevent his coming nearer the capital. But the advice was overruled, as being unworthy the dignity of the King; who in person took the field with an army of more than two hundred thousand men, besides a numerous train of attendants. Kouli Khan sat himself down with a river in the front of his army. The King encamped on the plains of *Karnal*. His army was soon in disorder for want of food, and the vigilance of the Persian troops swept the surrounding country. Saadit Khan one of the King's generals, seeing his fellow-soldiers distressed, for provisions, and ready to be overwhelmed no less by their own numbers than the courage and activity of the invader, was led by the impulse of his heart to the tent of the King; and, with the freedom of a soldier, told his master that there was no time to be lost in giving battle to the Persians: and, if the other generals refused to follow him, he would commence the attack with his own division of the army, desiring to die with his sword in his hand, rather than fall ingloriously through the necessity of hunger into the power of the enemy. A party of the Persians attempting to seize some of the baggage belonging to the King's army, the battle began between a small number, but speedily increased by supplies on both sides, till it became general. The Indian army placed great

dependance on their elephants; Nadir Shah (as Kouli Khan is called) caused a number of camels to be sent against them, bearing stages on which fires were burning; the terror this gave to the elephants made them fall back and disorder the whole army. Before night came on, 17,000 of the Emperor's troops were slain, among whom were a great number of persons dear to his Majesty, and of great consequence to the state. Not more than one half of the King's army was brought to engage; many fled towards the city; and the Persians pillaged at discretion, till they were interrupted by the night; in which the Persians buried their dead, between two and three thousand in number. About an equal number were wounded. A grand consultation was held in the Emperor's presence during the night. *Nizam ul Mulk*, his minister and chief commander, related, in the most affecting manner, the deplorable state to which the fortune of that day had reduced the court, and the danger to which the Emperor's person was exposed; his opinion therefore was to accommodate matters with Nadir Shah. Many on whom the King had most depended, were either among the killed or wounded; and though the officer who gave this advice to his Majesty, was suspected of treachery, in corresponding with the invader, the ascendancy he had now acquired laid the King under a necessity to trust to his advice. Full power was accordingly given him by the Emperor to treat with the invader; and the third day after the battle this minister and another Indian lord were introduced into the presence of NADIR SHAH; who said to them—"I had intended to put your Emperor and his troops to the sword, but I will favour them; go tell him to come to me, and we will make up our quarrel in a convenient manner."

Mahomed Shah, the Great Mogul, who, but a few days before, was looked upon by his subjects as possessing wisdom and power somewhat more than human; whose titles declared him King of all the Kings of the Earth, and Conqueror of the World, and who came from his palace in all the splendour of the East, was now only allowed two hundred horse to attend him to the camp of Nadir; who placed him on a throne at his left hand, and, after a few sentences of ceremony, said:—"You have without precaution put your all to the issue of one blow: I saw how you were entangled, and made you offers of accommodation; but you was so ill advised, or puffed up with childish conceits, that you neglected the terms of my friendship, and abandoned your own interest. Now you see to what straits you are reduced by the victorious arms of Persia. However, I will not take your empire from you; I only

mean to indemnify myself for the expence of this war, which must be paid : I will leave you in possession of your dominions." He did so, after massacring above one hundred thousand of the inhabitants in plundering the capital of Dehli, and killing at least an hundred thousand more in his way through the country. This cruel invader returned to his own city of Kandahar, within the year (1739) taking with him more than seventy millions of pounds sterling in money and jewels.

The cruelty of Thamas Kouli Khan is said to have extorted from a dervise this bold address :—" If thou art a God, act as a God ; if thou art a Prophet, conduct us in the way of salvation ; if thou art a King, render the people happy, and do not destroy them." To which the invader replied—" I am no God, to act as a God ; nor a Prophet, to shew the way of salvation ; nor a King, to render the people happy ; but I am he, whom God sends to the nations which he has determined to visit with his wrath."

The power and dignity of the Emperor were so reduced by this stroke, that he had nothing left him but the name of a king in many of his provinces. The governors of them only kept up a shew of allegiance ; and retained in their hands the revenues they raised from the subjects, to strengthen them in their usurpation. And, at the time the English military transactions first made a part of the history of the Mogul Empire, the heir to the throne was a state prisoner to one of these governors.

That part of the dominions which has been the seat of the English affairs—the provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa—were in the year 1725 governed by Shujaa Adden Khan, who for his fidelity to the King was invested with this government in his family. Behar and Orissa he governed by deputies, over Bengal he presided in person, and the city of Moorsbudabad in the centre of Bengal, was the seat of his government.

In his time two Mogh's, brothers, named Hadjy Ahmed and Allyverde Khan, came to Bengal, powerfully recommended by some of the principal Omrah's at court, and were received into his service ; the former as an officer of the foot soldiers, who immediately attended his own person ; the other as his Hookah, or pipe-bearer. Hadjy Ahmed had in his younger days been at Metca, which is implied by the title of Hadjy, given to all those who have made that pilgrimage. This alone is a great recommendation, in a country so far distant from a place, which, by the Koran, all Mussulmen ought to visit once in their lives ; and a reputation for sanctity is the best disguise for an ambitious man, among a people so full of enthusiasm as are all the followers of Mahommed : he gave him an easy introduction to the great, which he well

knew how to improve. He soon discovered his master's ruling passion; to this he made his court, and saw himself in the road to greatness; but was conscious of a weakness which might prove an invincible obstacle to his pursuits—the want of that martial courage so indispensably necessary in a country where no one is esteemed but by his merit as a soldier. That, he knew, his brother possessed in an eminent degree; he therefore determined to labour for his advancement, resigning to him the glory of command, and contenting himself with indulging an ardent thirst after riches. Fame and dominion were the darlings of his brother's more exalted soul. Thus, necessary to each other, they united those qualities which might have commanded success in a much greater enterprize. Hadji well knew, that where the object of our pursuit is itself criminal, crimes are the steps by which he must ascend; no retreat, no listening to the voice of nature; the passions themselves must be subservient, and conscience hushed. Thus resolved, he is said to have made a sacrifice of his own daughter to his master. Admitted a favourite, he lifted his brother from one step to another, till, in the year 1729, he obtained for him the Nabobship of Patna, where Allyverde Khan soon made himself very powerful; for, partly by policy, in setting the Rajas of that warlike province at variance with each other, and partly by the success of his arms, he brought them to an entire submission, making them pay their tributes, and yet attaching them to his service. In the mean time, Hadji, as prime minister, had acquired great riches both for himself and his master; but not chusing to depend entirely on the frowns or smiles of another and perhaps suspecting jealousy might be struggling with affection in his master's bosom, he eyed Patna as a secure retreat; and, by bribes among the great men at Dehly, he privately, in 1736, obtained a phirmaund, or royal grant, for his brother to hold the government of Behar, independant of Bengal. This could not be so secretly transacted, but enough transpired to excite the jealousy of the Soubah; who was probably meditating revenge, when, in 1739, death surprized him. His only son, Serieraz Khan, succeeded him in his government; as well as in his designs against the brothers; but when the means were considered, he saw the awful fabric they had raised had no firm basis for him to shake. Hadji was in his hands; but he could not look on his brother's power without trembling. Awed by that, he determined to wait a more proper season; and Allyverde, checked by his brother's being in the Soubah's power, durst not attempt any thing against him; so both determined to dissemble. Allyverde filled his letters with protestations of loyalty and submission; as the Soubah did his with assurances of the confidence he had

in him. As the courtiers and soldiers were mostly enemies to the brothers, it is possible the Soubah might in time have executed his purpose; but, indulging himself in excessive debauchery, even to that degree as to disorder his faculties, he soon rendered himself odious to his people, and lost the affections of those who might have supported him. But nothing hurt him so much as a disgrace he put on Juggut Sett, the greatest banker, and perhaps the richest subject in the world. Hearing that his son, Martabrug Sett was married to a young lady of exquisite beauty, he insisted on a sight of her: all the father's remonstrances were in vain; he persisted, and even sent people to force her from his house; saw her, and sent her back, possibly uninjured: but the very seeing her, in a country where women are kept concealed, was an injury never to be forgiven. The crafty Hadji rejoiced in an event which seemed likely to add so powerful a family to their party: he immediately tendered his own and his brother's services, to revenge the dishonour: which were readily embraced; and they brought over likewise one Allamchand, who had been a faithful servant to the father, and would have been so to the son, but had incurred his displeasure, by representing too freely the ill consequences of excesses. They had a conference; the issue of which was, that Allyverde should march from Patna; that they would endeavour to win as many of the general officers to their party as they could; and, if they were successful, that Allyverde Khan should have the Soubahship. But the former obstacle remained. Hadji was still in the Soubah's power. Sett and Allamchand undertook to get him removed to Patna, and that even by the Soubah's desire. Accordingly, they represented to the Soubah, "That Hadji was tampering with the general officers; that it was dangerous to keep him at court, and more so to attempt his life; but that, as he was no soldier, and could not add to his brother's strength; it was therefore most expedient to send him to Patna." The betrayed Serferaz Khan fell into the snare; and Hadji received his dismissal with great joy. He soon joined his brother, and, by his artful eloquence, so glossed over the crime with the flattering expectations of future greatness, that Allyverde, who else had probably been content with the authority he possessed, was dazzled by the splendor, and saw not that he undertook the death of his benefactor's son. Hadji gave him no time to relent: the resolution was no sooner formed, than executed; and, in December 1741, Allyverde began his march, first writing to the Soubah, "That he was oppressed with grief to find he had so many enemies at court, who, by their misrepresentations, had persuaded him to disgrace him-

brother; that he was coming to fling himself at his feet, and prove himself his loyal servant." The Soubah, roused from his delusive slumber, would have taken vigorous measures; but the same traitors assured him, he had nothing to apprehend from Allyverde Khan, who had only a few troops with him; that if he would give them leave to assure Allyverde, in his name, that he would restore his brother to favour, and that he was convinced of his fidelity, that Allyverde would march no farther. The Soubah was again deceived; and Allyverde, by this delay of a few days, had time to gain the passes which divide Bengal from Behar, where a few men might have checked his progress. The Soubah upbraided his counsellors with their treachery, who pleaded, that themselves were deceived; and he was now to put his life and government to the hazard of a battle. Their forces were nearly equal, each army consisting of about thirty thousand men: but it was the last day of his life that he was to experience how few were faithful to him. His chief reliance was on his artillery, little suspecting his master of the ordnance; who, after a few discharges without shot, went over to the enemy, and was followed by many others. Of all his commanders, Moorshud Cooley Khan, Ghows Khan, and Bauker Ally Khan, alone remained faithful to him. The two latter were killed. Moorshud Cooley sought his safety in flight, and would have persuaded the Soubah to do the same; and his elephant-driver undertook to carry him safe to the city; but he cried, "He scorned to give way to the rebels;" and rushed with his guards into the thickest of the enemy, where, by his great efforts, he kept the event for some time dubious, till overpowered by numbers, he yielded to the superior fortune of his rival. Moorshud Cooley Khan fled for Cattaek, of which he was governor; while Allyverde, joined by Serferaz Khan's army, entered Moorshudabad, March 30, 1742; and soon shewed he wanted only a just title to make him worthy of this high station. Contrary to the general practice, he shed no blood after the action, contenting himself with putting Serferaz Khan's children under gentle confinement.

His first act was to send for Hadjy, whom he had left at Patna, that he might have the assistance of his superior judgment in maintaining what his own bravery, directed by his brother's counsels, had acquired: and, having rewarded his party with the posts lately filled by his adversaries, distributed part of his treasure among them, and received the submission of the Rajahs, and all the great men, he took the field, with a select body of Partans added to his forces, under the command of Mustapha Khan, a general of distinguished merit: then appointing his brother governor in his absence, he began his

march, against Moorshud Cooley Khan, who was in Cuttack with the remains of Serferaz Khan's party. After a short and unsuccessful resistance, he fled with all his followers to Dekkan, and never more disturbed the Subah.

He had but a short time to indulge himself in the pleasing thoughts of being in quiet possession of the three provinces, when he was suddenly alarmed with an invasion of eighty thousand Marhattas; who, entering over the Berboom hills, made it doubtful whether he could reach his capital in time to preserve it.

It may be necessary here to say, who the Marhattas are, and what their pretensions in Bengal.

The Rajah of Sittarah, commonly called the Son Rajah, a corruption of the family name of Seho, put himself at the head of a confederacy of the independent Rajahs, who possess all the country, called the promontory of India, from Ganjam west to Guzzerat: and Aurungzebe finding all his endeavours to conquer them in vain, and that they harassed the Dekkan and other provinces bordering on their territory, was at last glad to make peace with them on their own terms. These were, the independant enjoyment of the above countries, exclusive of the port of Surat, and the quarter part of the revenues of Dekkan, for which a certain sum was stipulated, which was called the Chout; but the treaty was never strictly observed on either side. When the Emperors had no other wars on their hands, they refused to pay the chout; and when there was any intestine divisions in the Mogul empire, the Marhattas never failed to extend their boundaries; till gathering new strength as the Mogul's declined, they increased their demands to the chout of the whole empire, to which the weak Emperors were obliged to submit. This year the Son Rajah sent to demand the chout. The Emperor, brought to the last state of imbecillity by the invasion of Nadir Shah, and unable either to resist or comply, proposed to them, among other expedients, to send a force against Allyverde Khan, to receive the revenues of the two last years, send his and his brother's head to court, and reinstate the family of Shujaa Khan. The Marhattas gladly embraced a proposal which seemed to insure them the edict, or at least the plunder of three rich provinces.

As their force consists solely of light horse, they made such rapid marches, that their arrival was the first notice the Subah had of their intentions; and he was then unfortunately at the very extremity of his territories. By forced marches he reached the province of Burdwan; but finding the enemy must be up with him should he attempt to join his brother, he there intrenched himself, and was soon surrounded by the Marhattas, who, though superior in number, did not attempt to force him.

Beskar Pandit, the Marhatta general, now sent a messenger to acquaint him with his demands; which were, the revenue due to the crown, the chouts of the two last years, the treasures of Shujaa Khan and Serferaz Khan; and that for the future the Sou Rajah should have officers of his own to collect the chout; in every district of the three provinces. The intrepid Allyverde, exasperated to hear such haughty terms, boldly resolved to fight his way through the enemy, and join his brother. He put himself at the head of the Pattans; who, animated by his example, and the promise of reward, charged with such fury, that they soon cut their way through the enemy, and gained the high road to the capital. They were followed by the whole Marhatta army for three days together, till at last they reached the town of Cutwa, where happily the river was fordable; and here his situation admitted of a little rest: but when he formed his forces for passing the river, he found them reduced to no more than three thousand Pattans; the rest of his army, consisting mostly of Bengal troops, the worst soldiers in the empire, had taken the opportunity, while the enemy was employed against the Pattans, of marching off towards Cuttack. The Soubah now saw, that the dangers past were far short of those in prospect; but, master of himself at all times, he betrayed no sense of fear; and he gave his orders with a cheerfulness which was to his troops a certain omen of success.

There was one pass only by which the Marhattas could come to attack him, before he gained the river: this he gave in charge to Mustapha Khan, assisted by Zaindee Ahmed Khan, Hadji's eldest son, and Meer Jaffer with eighty Pattans, with orders to maintain it till the whole army crossed the river. The Marhattas, imagining the Soubah proposed to continue at Cutwa till joined by his brother, stood for some time astonished at the desperate attempt; but when they saw his army in the river, enraged to see their prey escape out of their hands, they attacked the defile with the best of their troops; but all the efforts were in vain against the brave Pattans, who obeyed their orders with the loss of half their number, and joined the Soubah with the rest on the other side of the river; and, in this memorable affair, Meer Jaffer is said to have killed ten Marhattas with his own hand. Their valour was amply rewarded by their generous master, who, on his arrival at Moorehudebad, presented Mustapha Khan with ten lacs of rupees, and the rest in proportion. The Soubah upbraided

G. * The report is a little erroneous, it is the Mogul's intent, with a view to the abolition of his name and titles, the year of his reign; and the place at which he was born; 114 miles from Tawa, 20 miles from the city of Tawa.

his brother in the severest terms for his cowardice, in not coming to his assistance; who pleaded, that, giving him over for lost, he employed his time in fortifying the city; which the Soubah found sufficiently strong against an army which had no cannon. He had now struck such a terror into his enemies, and had so well established his character as a soldier, that the Marhattas, not daring to attempt the city, contented themselves with ravaging the country all round, till the approach of the rains obliged them to retire back into the Burdwan province, and put an end to their operations.

The Soubah, on his accession, had ordered large levies of troops in the province of Behar; so that in October, the rains being over, he again took the field at the head of fifty thousand men. The Marhattas also increased their strength by the desertion of Meer Hubbles from the Soubah's party, who carried some cannon with him. He had been deputy governor of Dacca, but being called to the Soubah's court, to answer to some crime laid to his charge, he rather chose to trust himself with the enemies of his country, than abide the resentment of an injured master; and his great knowledge of the country made him very useful to them.

The Marhattas, according to their usual practice, would never venture a general action, but endeavoured to bring the Soubah to terms by harassing his troops and plundering his country. The Soubah sent to offer peace; but the Marhattas, to their former terms, added that of the resignation of his government to Serferaz Khan's eldest son. Provoked at this, the subtle Hadji tempted his brother to try what treachery could effect. A conference was proposed and accepted. A tent was pitched between both armies; and Boekar Pandit, relying on the Soubah's oath on the Koran for his personal safety, advanced with thirteen of his general officers: The tent was double, and lined with armed men, who, on the signal given, rushed on the unprepared Marhattas, and cut them to pieces, in sight of their own army, who breathed instant revenge; but, the Soubah, advancing at the head of his troops, struck terror into a multitude without commanders; and the Marhattas, by a speedy flight, disappointed him of his hopes of bringing them to a general engagement. The only revenge in their power was, ravaging the country, which they did most effectually, burning the towns, and destroying the inhabitants without regard to sex or age. The Soubah pursued them so closely, that he at last drove them back over the Barboom hills, having

11. gr. and the proportion of alloy, to be delivered in at 944 400. One hundred thousand rupees make a lack, which is equal to 12,500 sterling, one hundred danks, a score of one hundred rupees make a

killed many in different skirmishes, and making a number of prisoners.

The flattering prospect was but as a sudden calm, while the clouds gather together to return with greater violence ; for advice was now, 1744, brought of a fresh army of Marhattas entering by the way of Cuttack, under the command of Ragoojee ; and of another, by the way of Patna, commanded by Balajeerow, general to the Sou Rajah ; each of sixty thousand horse. But, though independent of each other, they agreed to act in concert, and make an equal division of all plunder and advantages that might be obtained.

The Soubah, who was returning from Berboon, apprehensive of being inclosed, regained Cutwa by speedy marches, and proceeded to his capital with a mind full of anxiety at the mortification of being obliged to leave his country exposed to merciless plunderers. He made such additional works to the city as the short time would permit ; and leaving it under the charge of Hadji, he took the field again with an army of observation, composed of troops whose bodies were half-exhausted by fatigue, and their minds spiritless through despondency. But behold a dawn of hope ! He soon traced the marks of discord between the two Marhatta generals ; and, by the mediation of Barsarow, a conference was consented to by the Soubah and Balajeerow, at which a peace was concluded on the following terms : The Soubah paid twenty-two lacs for the chout of the two last years, engaged to pay it regularly for the future, and, it is said, gave a large sum as a present to the general himself ; who on his part, promised to retire out of the country, and to assist in driving out the other Marhatta army also. Balajeerow did indeed retire himself, but left the Soubah to fight it out with his confederate ; who, being no match for the Soubah, divided his forces into small bodies, and laid waste whatever had been spared by his predecessors, till the rains ; and the Soubah's pursuit, once more drove them out of the country.

The next year they renewed the same scene ; but the Soubah attacked them so closely, that he cleared the country of them early in March 1745, Orissa and Cuttack only remaining in their hands ; and now he promised himself some respite, at least till the month of October. He this year appointed Zaindee Ahmed Khan Nabob of Patna, who set out for that province with a considerable body of troops, to prevent the incursions of the province. About this time the Soubah first conceived a jealousy of the great reputation of his general Mustapha Khan, who, by his bravery, and unlimited profusion to his Pattons, had made himself extremely beloved by them ; crimes sufficient to render him obnoxious, under a government de-

pending entirely on military power, and where there is no medium between supreme command and abject slavery. The generous open temper of the man considered, I doubt much whether the Soubah's suspicions were justly founded; but his death was resolved on, and it was determined to assassinate him the first time he came to court. Mustapha was too much beloved to have it kept a secret from him. To be warned was sufficient to be safe. His first thoughts prompted him to revenge; which he was powerful enough to execute, but could not resolve to spill the blood of a man he once loved. He rather chose to quit the country with his Pattans, and was followed by Shumser Khan at the head of a considerable body more. They took their route towards Behar, intending to pass through that province into their own country.

The brothers, alarmed at so great a defection, and sensible no enemy is so dangerous as an injured friend, but, above all, apprehensive of their joining the Marhattas, by greater promises, attached the rest of the Pattans to them. The Pattans, not suspecting any pursuit, had marched but slowly; and were overtaken near Patna. Receiving advice at the same time, that Zaindee Ahmed Khan was marching from that city toward them, they instantly determined to face about and attack the Soubah, whose forces were little superior to their own. The battle began with the most promising appearance of success for the Pattans, till Mustapha Khan, borne away by the torrent of his passion, endeavoured with too great impetuosity to penetrate that part where the Soubah was, but met with a resistance equally brave, and received his death's wound from an arrow lodged in his eye. The Pattans, as if their general was their only source of life and courage, instantly fled, and with their general Shumser Khan, reached their own country. The brothers never escaped a greater danger; and in the frenzy of their joy, forgetting the great services they had received from the unfortunate Mustapha, they shamefully exposed this remains to be carried in an ignominious manner through the streets of Patna.

The Marhattas, in this and the following year, 1746-7, again renewed their incursions. All the Soubah could do, was, to cover the country to the east of the Ganges; north and west from Cuttack to Rajahmunt; a desolate and cultivated. Indeed they were not so numerous; the country that had been so long exposed to them, would no longer support such vast armies. But while his attention was taken up by them, a greater, and more unexpected misfortune befel him. The fugitive Shumser Khan returned the beginning of this year, at the head of seven or eight thousand Pattans, on a project concerted between him and Meer Husein, for the plunder of

Patna. Of this Hadjy had some intelligence, and hastened to assist his son with his counsels. Shumser Khan arrived on the opposite side of the Ganges, within a few hours march of the city, and wrote a letter to the Nabob of Patna, feigning contrition for what was past, and desiring his intercession with the Soubah to restore him to favour. Hadjy advised him to try the same stratagem which had been so successful against Boskar Pundit; but his son, whether from cruple or fear, hesitated, and returned for answer, that he was not empowered to promise him pardon, but had wrote to the court in his behalf. The orders soon arrived, which were, to follow his father's instructions. The Soubah, at the same time, the better to deceive the Pattans, wrote to Shumser Khan, that he gladly accepted his services, and pressed his march to Moorshudabad. This proposal Shumser Khan made use of to cross the river, giving out he intended to march on to Bengal. Both parties desired a conference with the same treacherous views. It was settled they should meet on a plain before the city, where a tent was pitched, under which Hadjy had contrived to sink a mine, which was to be fired as soon as Zaindee Ahmed Khan retired.

Shumser came at the time appointed, attended by a chosen band; each party endeavoured to conceal their designs, by most exaggerated assurances of mutual friendship. On Zaindee Ahmed's rising to take his leave, Shumser Khan and his followers drew their sabres, and out down the Nabob and those that attempted to defend him. In this confusion the mine was neglected, and the Pattans advanced, and entered the city with the fugitives, where they took old Hadjy prisoner as he was attempting to escape in disguise. No stratagem, no wily art could avail. After suffering every indignity which wanton cruelty could suggest, he was severely scourged, and mounted on an ass, with his legs tied under the belly, and thus was led the same tour he himself had appointed for Musapha Khan. Fresh tortures were then inflicted on him; and more were in reserve, till one of his guards, pitying his great age and sufferings, conveyed him a dose of poison, which put a period to his miserable life.

Thus Hadjy Ahmed deservedly met the same doom himself had sentenced others to, and gave the world an instance more of the incompatibility of wickedness with happiness.

Allyverde Khan was for some time inconsolable for this misfortune. In his brother he lost the faithful pilot, who had successfully steered the vessel, in which their common fortunes were embarked, through all the storms and dangers of usurped authority; and in Zaindee Ahmed, the prop and staff of his declining years, to whom he had given one of his daughters in,

marriage, and whom he had destined for his successor in the soubahship, of which his great merit rendered him every way worthy. But fresh dangers soon roused him from his lethargy. Agreeable to the plan concerted between Shumser Khan and Meer Hubbeeb, the Marhattas now entered the country by the Beerboom pass, while Shumser Khan advanced with his Pattans towards the Soubah, who had already taken the field, to revenge his brother's death. His first step was to endeavour, by forced marches, to prevent their junction. The three armies, thus marching towards each other, met at Boglepore, as at one common centre, which they all reached at the same time; but with this circumstance, that the Soubah found himself between their armies, both now ready to attack him. In this dilemma, his superior genius, ever fruitful in resources, suggested to him an expedient, which extricated him from the greatest danger he was ever yet exposed to. The Pattans, he knew, fought from a principle of revenge for the death of Mustapha, and from an attachment for their surviving master; but the Marhattas for plunder only: leaving therefore his camp standing, he advanced briskly towards the Pattans, who stood him the hardest struggle he had ever yet been engaged in, but which ended in their total rout by the death of their commander Shumser. This stratagem had its utmost effect. The Marhattas, regardless of the views of their general, and unrestrained by military laws, instead of attacking the Soubah's rear, fell to plundering his camp, regardless of all the exhortations of their officers. The Soubah, after the Pattans were once broken, instead of pursuing them, found the Marhattas plundering his camp in the utmost confusion. Thus, incapable of making any stand, they were totally routed with very little loss to the Soubah, who, thus revenged for the loss of his faithful brother and beloved nephew, returned to the capital.

The Marhattas never ceased their incursions, but kept him almost continually in the field; and the little respite he had, was fully taken up in contriving means to raise money, to support the immense expences he was at in maintaining forces against them, to which he obliged every body to contribute: nor did the European settlements escape, but, in 1747, were obliged to pay their quota; he observing always this policy; not to demand it of them all at the same time, as he wisely judged their union only could make them formidable.

At last, in 1750, a firm treaty was settled with the Sou Rajah, by which the province of Cuttack was given up to him, and the chout was settled at twelve lacks per annum, since which they have never molested these provinces. The only alarm he ever met with after this, was the march of Monsur Ally Khan,

Vizier of the empire, into the province of Bellar. I am not well acquainted with the motives of his coming : but he proceeded as far as Patna ; and it is probable, if he had continued his march to Bengal, the Soubah's troops, awed with the pomp of royal authority, and indeed inferior in every respect, would not have drawn a sword for him. Whatever the Vizier's intentions were, the intrigues carrying on against him at court obliged him to return. Allyverde Khan made him a magnificent present ; and the Vizier, in return, confirmed him in his soubahship, on condition of his remitting yearly to court fifty-two lacks of rupees, in which he was afterwards very punctual.

We have seen this brave usurper struggling through difficulties which nothing but the utmost constancy and intrepidity could surmount. Let us now follow him through the more pleasing scenes of domestic life and public tranquillity. His great age, being now in his seventy-third year, the low state of his treasury, and the distressed condition of the provinces, which had been exposed to the Marhattas, and lay uncultivated and the manufactures lost, all required the rest of peace, which henceforward it was his whole attention to preserve. I mentioned before, he had no sons of his own ; he therefore treated as such the issue of Hadjy, who were Nuazish Mohammed Khan, married to his eldest daughter, Syed Ahmed, and three sons of Zaindee Ahmed. The eldest of Zaindee Ahmed's sons, named Mirza Mohammed, a lad of seventeen years of age, he adopted himself ; and took into his family the youngest, named Mirza Mahendee ; but the second, called Fazeel Cooley Khan, was adopted by Nuazish Mohammed Khan. Nuazish, the eldest of Hadjy's children, he made Nabob of Dacca, with the whole revenue of that rich province to maintain his court ; Syed Ahmed was made Nabob of Purnea, with the enjoyment of its revenues ; and Mirza Mohammed was made nominal Nabob of Patna. But the old man well knew that no Mussulman was to be trusted with the power annexed to that nabobship ; and therefore sent Raja Janky Ram, a Hindoo as deputy governor, always observing to visit that province once a year himself. And having thus trusted the distant provinces to those he thought he could confide in, he, in 1761, disbanded the greatest part of his forces, relying on his reputation in arms, to keep his neighbours in awe.

Until the year 1752, it was imagined he intended Nuazish Mohammed Khan for his successor ; but whether he thought his narrow genius unequal to the task of government, or was more particularly biassed by his great affection to Mirza Mohammed, he this year associated the latter in the government, declared him his successor, and procured him from court the title of *Serje ad Dowlah*. * This was the signal of dissension ;

* Lamp of riches.

and heretofore his court was a continued scene of feuds and animosities betwixt the contending parties. Most people who observed this strict union between the two nephews ; that the eldest had amassed great riches, and, though a weak effeminate man himself, had for his prime minister one Hossein Cooley Khan, an able politician, and much esteemed by the army ; and the other nephew possessed of a rich province well secured by rivers and mountains, and daily increasing his forces ; and compared with these the unpromising qualities of Seraje ad Dowlah, who was continually immersed in debauchery, drinking to the utmost excess, chusing his companions from the dregs of the people, and giving every indication of a vicious and corrupt mind ; most people, I say, little imagined the succession would ever fall to him. But, in 1751, the balance seemed to incline to him ; for the Soubah determined in his favour ; and, apprehensive Nuazish might prove too powerful for him, thought it expedient to deprive him of his chief support in Hossein Cooley Khan ; but as his nephew was deputy governor of Dacca, they began with him, lest Hossein Cooley Khan should suspect their intentions, retire to Dacca, and set up for himself. The conduct of this affair was left to Seraje ad Dowlah, who chose for his instrument one Aga Saddoe, whose father was governor of Chittagong, but resided at Dacca. The son, an extravagant debauched youth, was then under confinement at Nuazish Mohammed Khan's palace, being left there as hostage till he paid a large sum due for the revenues of his government. Seraje ad Dowlah assisted him in his escape. He landed at Dacca the first of December 1755, and engaged his father in the enterprise, deluded probably by the promise of Seraje ad Dowlah to make him governor of Dacca. The father and son, with twelve of their dependants, surprized the governor in the dead of night, and, after some little resistance, in which the father was wounded, they cut off his head, and proclaimed it to be done by the order of Seraje ad Dowlah : but the next day, an order arriving from Nuazish Mohammed Khan, to seize Aga Saddoe, the great men of the city immediately assembled their forces, and attacked him. The son, with some of his desperate followers, cut their way through their opponents, and made their escape ; but the father, and the rest of their party, were killed. This news reaching the capital, the different parties were immediately in arms ; but the old Soubah assuring his nephew that Aga Saddoe had made this attempt entirely in revenge for his confinement, the weak timid Nuazish was appeased, and the consequence was, that Seraje ad Dowlah, a few days after, murdered Hussein Cooley Khan in the streets of Moorshudabad. This pusillanimous conduct of Nuazish, made many quit his

party, apprehensive of the same fate. The old Soubah now gave evident signs of his approaching end. Men's wishes and inclinations are apt to deceive their judgments. Seraje ad Dowlah daily rendered himself more odious; and great reliance was had on the union of the two brothers. But providence, for its own wise ends, favoured this youth with rapid success. Nuazish and Syed Ahmed both died a natural death, within a month of each other; and Allyverde followed them, April the 10, 1756, first giving Seraje ad Dowlah the keys of his treasure, and declaring his desire that he should succeed him. I have before mentioned Seraje ad Dowlah, as giving to hard-drinking; but Allyverde, in his last illness, foreseeing the ill consequences of his excesses, obliged him to swear on the Koran, never more to touch any intoxicating liquor; which he ever after strictly observed. But the excesses he had already committed, had disordered his faculties to that degree, that he had ever after a disturbed imagination; sometimes frantic with passion, and cruel to those about him; then again caressing them on equally frivolous grounds; and all his words and actions betrayed a violent and uneven temper. Judges of human nature will be apt to prognosticate his sudden fall from such symptoms; yet he came to the soubahship with the most flattering prospect. He had an army formed by his predecessors, a full treasury, and no competitors but the son of Syed Ahmed, in arms in Furnea, and an infant named Morad ad Dowlah, son to his brother, who had been adopted by Nuazish Mohammed Khan, and was now supported by his widow with a party which at first appeared formidable; but the attraction of a full treasury soon won that party over, and the widow, left alone, was received, with the child, into his own palace.

The late Soubah had frequently observed, that the Europeans were likely to conquer the whole country, and advised his grandson to keep a watchful eye over them. He used to compare the Europeans to a hive of bees, of whose honey you might reap the benefit; but if you disturbed their hive they would sting you to death.

A few days before his death, he said to his grandson, "My life has been a life of war and stratagem: For what have I fought, for what have my counsels tended, but to secure you, my son, a quiet succession to my soubahdary? My fears for you have for many days robbed me of sleep. I perceived who had power to give you trouble after I am gone hence. Hussein Cooley Khan, by his reputation for wisdom, courage, and affection to Shah Ahmed Jung, and his house, I feared would obstruct your government. His power is no more. Manjeshund Dewan, who might have been your dangerous enemy, I have taken into favour. Keep in view the power the European na-

tions have in the country. This fear I would also have freed you from, if God had lengthened my days.—The work, my son, must now be yours: Their wars and politics in the Telinga country should keep you waking: On pretence of private contests between their Kings, they have seized and divided the country of the King, and the goods of his people, between them: Think not to weaken them all together. The power of the English is great; they have lately conquered Angria, and possessed themselves of his country; reduce them first; the others will give you little trouble, when you have reduced them. Suffer them not, my son, to have factories or soldiers; if you do, the country is not yours."

Mr. Forth, who was then at the Nabob's court, gave the following account of what passed before his death:

"About fifteen days before the old Nabob died, I being obliged to attend every morning to see him, his son came in, and with a face full of resentment and anger, addressed himself to the old man:—Father, I am well informed the English are going to assist the Begum. The old man asked me directly if this was true? I answered, That this must be a malicious report, of some who were not our friends, and done on purpose to prejudice the Company; that the Company were merchants, and not soldiers; and that in all the troubles that had happened in the country, since we had a settlement in it, if he pleased to enquire, he would find, we had not joined any party, or interfered in any thing but our trade; and that the Company had been nigh a hundred years in this country, in which time they never once had a dispute with the government on that head.—How many soldiers, says he, have you in your fort or factory (Cossimbazar)? Answer, The usual number, about forty, gentlemen included.—Have you never more? Answer, No, only when the Marhattas were in the country; but as soon as they were gone, the soldiers were returned to Calcutta.—Do you know, asked he, if the Dutch and French have any come up?—Answer, I cannot tell.—Where are your ships of war?—Answer, At Bombay.—Will they come here?—Not that I know of; there is no occasion for them.—Had you not some here three months ago?—Answer, Yes, there comes one or two yearly, to carry provisions for the rest of the ships.—What is the reason you have these ships of war in these parts of late?—Answer, To protect the Company's trade, and for fear of a war with France.—Is there war now between you and the French?—Answer, No, not at present, but we are afraid it will be soon. He then turned about to his grandson, and told him he did not believe a word of the report he had heard; upon which Seraje ad Dowlah answered, He could prove it. The old man

desired I would send our Vakeel to him directly; which having accordingly done, when he returned, I asked the Vakeel: what the old man said to him, which was almost word for word what passed with me. Seraje ad Dowlah ordered the Vakeel to attend his Durbar daily, which was accordingly done."

Such were the thoughts of Allyverde Khan of the English, before he resigned his government and his life to Seraje ad Dowlah, his successor. Here we may find the motives from which the war against the English took its rise in the mind of the young Nabob. Allyverde Khan, the successful usurper of the provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, grown old in the art of Eastern government, lays him down to die; and, looking upon the heir of his fortunes, says to him, "My son, the power of the English is great; reduce them first; when that is done, the other European nations will give you little trouble. Suffer them not to have factories or soldiers; if you do, the country is not yours. I would have freed you from this task, if God had lengthened out my days.—The work, my son, must now be yours. Reduce the English first; if I read their designs aright, your dominions will be most in danger from them. They have lately conquered Angria, and possessed themselves of his country and his riches. They mean to do the same thing to you: they make not war among us for justice, but for money. It is their object; all the Europeans come here to enrich themselves; and, on pretence of private contests between their Kings, they have seized the country of the King, and divided the goods of his people between them. Love of dominion, and gold, hath laid fast hold of the souls of the Christians; and their actions have proclaimed, over all the East, how little they regard the express precepts they have received from God. They believe not that life and immortality, which is brought to light by their revelation. They act in defiance of the good principles they would pretend to believe. My son, reduce the English to the condition of slaves, and suffer them not to have factories or soldiers; if you do, the country will be theirs, not your's. They who, we see, are every day using all their policy, and their power, against what they themselves say is the law of the Most High, are only to be restrained by force." Advice like this from Allyverde Khan, recommended by his great reputation, and coming with the affection of a father, to Seraje ad Dowlah, leaves us at no loss to account for his motives for the war against the English.

NUWAB SERAJE AD DOWLAH.

Seraje ad Dowlah marches towards Purnea—Stopped at Rajmahal in consequence of Intelligence received from Calcutta—Returns to Cossimbazar and takes possession of the English Factory—Proceeds towards Calcutta—The English endeavour to overtake his army, but in vain—The Nuwab arrives at Calcutta—Description of Fort William—The Nuwab's troops escalate and enter the fort—The English lay down their arms—The Nuwab enters the fort—severely reprimands Mr. Holwell—The English prisoners forced into the Black Hole—Mr. Holwell's account of that very affecting event—Mr. Holwell again summoned to the Nuwab—threatened with further punishment if he did not disclose where the Company's treasure was hidden—He is sent prisoner with three other gentlemen, loaded with fetters, to Moorshudabad—Experiences every act of humanity from the French and Dutch Chiefs of Cossimbazar—The Nuwab orders them to be set at liberty and to conduct them wherever they chose to go—The Nuwab marches against his cousin Shokut Jung, Nuwab of Purnea—Attacks him, who makes a vigorous defence—Shokut Jung killed by a musket ball—Affairs of the English resumed—Mr. Drake, with those who had escaped from Calcutta proceeds to Fulta—Receives reinforcement from Madras, and an expedition under the command of Admiral Watson, and Colonel Clive arrives at Fulta—Attacks the fort of Budge Budge—A confused engagement ensues—The Nuwab's troops retire—A ship of War silences the guns of Budge Budge, but the assault having been delayed, a drunken sailor takes the fort—The English advances towards Calcutta—The Governor retreats—The English retake Fort William and Calcutta—Takes Hoogly—The Nuwab marches from Moorshudabad—The enemy encamps in the vicinity of Calcutta—Colonel Clive attacks his camp—The Nuwab much alarmed—Offers to make peace—A treaty concluded—Terms of the treaty—The English resolve to attack Chandernagore—The English troops enter the French territory—The French capitulate—Part of the garrison make their escape—The troops that had escaped from Chandernagore arrive at Cossimbazar—and are taken under the protection of the Nuwab—Colonel Clive demands their being delivered up to him—Orders the French to proceed to Patna—Seraje ad Dowlah obtains intelligence of the Proceedings of the English—Reinforces his army at Plassy—Orders piles to be driven across the river and sends instructions to Mr. Lums to come down immediately from

Patna—Treaty between Meer Jaffier the Nuwab's General and the English—Meer Jaffier's life threatened by the Soubah—The Colonel writes to the Nuwab, who endeavours to reconcile Meer Jaffier—The Soubah takes the field—The English troops take the fort of Cutwa—They pass the river and take possession of Plassy grove—The Nuwab encamps close to them—The armies draw out in battle array—The engagement commences—Meer Muddeen, the Nuwab's General killed—Seraje ad Dowlah sends for Meer Jaffier and apologizes for his former conduct—Meer Jaffier sends intelligence of the state of affairs to Colonel Clive—The Nuwab quits the field—Arrives at Moorshudabad, with the first intelligence of his defeat—Meer Jaffier and his son meet Colonel Clive, who on embracing Meer Jaffier, salutes him the Soubah of the three provinces—Seraje ad Dowlah on his arrival at the city assembles a council of his great officers, and deliberates on various expedients—Disguises himself in a mean dress—Strals out of a window in the dead of the night and embarks on the Ganges—Arrives towards Patna—Betrayed by a Durvesh—Taken prisoner—Sent to Moorshudabad—Put to death by Meerun, the son of Meer Jaffier—The English enter the Nuwab's camp—Meeting between Colonel Clive and Meer Jaffier—Visits Meer Jaffier and places him on the musnud—Of the taking of Chandernagore from the French—Correspondence between the Nuwab and Admiral Watson—A further account of the measures adopted for deposing Seraje ad Dowlah—The battle of Plassy and the advancement of Meer Jaffier to the Government of Bengal—Lord Clive's Account of the retaking of Calcutta and the terms agreed on for a Revolution &c. given to the Committee of the House of Commons in 1772—Lord Clive's account of the celebrated treaty with Omichund, for his assistance in bringing about a revolution in favor Meer Jaffier.

IN May, 1757, Seraje ad Dowlah was in full march against the Nabob of Purnea, when suddenly, he returned to the city, and publicly declared his intention to extirpate the English; and without further delay he encamped his whole army opposite to the English factory at Cossimbazar, and summoned Mr. Watts to surrender the place to him, at the same time sending him a beetle as a token of friendship, and assurance of personal safety. Mr. Watts having only five and twenty Europeans in garrison, and being sensible that if he resisted, he exposed all the English effects in the Soubah's dominions to be immediately seized; that at the utmost he could not hold out above a day or two; and finally, ignorant of the cause of

the Soubah's displeasure, obeyed the summons. But, contrary to promise, the Soubah immediately made him prisoner, and presented him the following articles to sign :

I. That we should demolish all our new fortifications.

II. Give no protection to his subjects.

III. Make good all that the government had suffered by the abuse of the dustucks.*

The first article alluded to some additional works carrying on, on the apprehension of an approaching French war.

The second was to deprive us of the power of protecting our merchants and their agents, in which they were privileged by a royal grant.

The third was rather an opening to extort a large sum of money from the Company; for it is almost impossible but there must be some abuse in a privilege of that kind.

These Mr. Watts signed, and was then made to give up the factory to him, the gates of which he ordered to be sealed, and then marched on to Calcutta. These articles were no more heard of, and he seemed bent on our destruction and, that none might presume to divert him from this resolution, he exacted an oath from Juggut Sett, who had always acted as mediator between the government and the Europeans, not to interfere, or offer any argument to make him alter his mind. After this, no one dared to plead for the unfortunate English; and the Soubah, surrounded by a thousand greedy minions and hungry officers, all eager for the plunder of so rich a place, heard nothing but the most servile applauses of his resolution. Thus the avenues to justice and mercy were shut up, and all our submissive offers ineffectual. I shall not dwell on all the circumstances of the siege, which was such as might naturally be expected from a garrison consisting almost entirely of citizens, with a few soldiers, commanded by officers who had never seen an action, and a fort, that looked more like merchants' warehouses, than a place of defence. June 19th, the enemy had made such progress, that a general retreat was determined on for the next day; but whether or not the Governor thought himself the more immediate object of the Soubah's fury, and therefore his danger greater than the rest, instead of waiting the appointed time, or giving proper orders to the garrison, he went out at the River gate, and got on board the first ship he could come to. All that were near, and saw the Governor going off, concluded the retreat was general, and rushed out with him. They seized the boats that were at the water-side and pushed as fast as they could for

* Meaning the privilege given us, to grant grants, free from all Government duty, to the Company's trade.

the ships, where, once on board, they stood down the river. Those who remained in the garrison made a virtue of necessity, and still endeavoured to defend themselves; but from this time all was despair, bravery, and confusion; and the next evening, their ammunition being almost expended, and farther defence or a retreat impracticable, they hung out a flag of truce, which the enemy taking for a surrender, they immediately scaled the walls, killing only such as made opposition. On the Soubah's entering the fort himself, he ordered the English into confinement. They were standing all together near the Black-hole prison, which appearing to the enemy a secure place, they were forced into it. The Soubah gave up the town to be plundered, reserving to himself the effects in the fort. The next morning twenty-three only remained alive out of one hundred and forty-six, that had been forced into the prison the night before.

Mr. Holwell, one of the survivors, gives the following account of that very affecting event:

"By narratives made public you will only know, that of one hundred and forty-six prisoners, one hundred and twenty-three were smothered in the Black-hole prison, on the night of the 20th of June, 1757. Few survived, capable of giving any detail of the manner in which it happened; and of these, I believe, none have attempted it: For my own part, I have often sat down with a resolution, and as often relinquished the melancholy task, not only from the disturbance and affliction it raised afresh in my remembrance, but from the consideration of the impossibility of finding language capable of raising an adequate idea of the horrors of the scene I essayed to draw. But as I believe the annals of the world cannot produce an incident like it, in any degree or proportion to all the dismal circumstances attending it, and as my own health of body and peace of mind are once again, in a great measure, recovered from the injuries they suffered from that fatal night, I cannot allow it to be buried in oblivion; though still conscious that, however high the colouring my retentive memory may supply, it will fall infinitely short of the horrors accompanying this scene.

Before I conduct you into the Black-hole, it is necessary you should be acquainted with a few introductory circumstances. The Soubah and his troops were in possession of the fort before six in the evening. I had in all, three interviews with him; the last in Durbah, before seven, when he repeated his assurances to me on the word of a soldier, that no harm should come to us and indeed I believe his orders were only general, that we should for that night be secured, and that what followed was the result of revenge and resentment in the breasts of the lower

jamadaars, to whose custody we were delivered, for the number of their order killed during the siege. Be this as it may, as soon as it was dark, we were all, without distinction directed by the guard over us, to collect ourselves into one body, and sit down quietly under the arched verandah or piazza to the west of the Black-hole prison, and the barracks to the left of the court of guard; and just over against the windows of the Governor's easterly apartments. Besides the guard over us another was placed at the foot of the stairs, at the south end of this verandah, leading up to the south east bastion, to prevent any of us escaping that way. On the parade were also drawn up about four or five hundred artillery-men with lighted matches.

"At this time the factory was in flames to the right and left of us; to the right the armory and laboratory; to the left the carpenter's yard, though at this time we imagined it was the Pucka-warehouses. Various were our conjectures on this appearance; the fire advanced with rapidity on both sides; and it was the prevailing opinion, that they intended suffocating us between the two fires: and this notion was confirmed by the appearance, about half after seven, of some officers and people with lighted torches in their hands, who went into all the apartments under the easterly curtain to the right of us, to which we apprehended they were setting fire, to expedite their scheme of burning us. On this we presently came to a resolution of rushing on the guard, seizing their scymitars, and attacking the troops upon the parade, rather than be thus tamely roasted to death. But to be satisfied of their intentions, I advanced, at the request of Messrs. Bailie, Jenks, and and Bavelly, to see if they were really setting fire to the apartments; and found the contrary; for in fact, as it appeared afterwards, they were only searching for a place to confine us in; the last they examined being the barracks of the court of guard behind us.

"Here I must detain you a little; to do honour to the memory of a man, to whom I had in many instances been a friend, and who on this occasion, demonstrated his sensibility of it in a degree worthy of a much higher rank. His name was Leech, the Company's Smith, as well as clerk of the parish; this man had made his escape when the troops entered the fort; and returned just as it was dark, to tell me he had provided a boat, and would ensure my escape, if I would follow him through a passage few were acquainted with, and by which he had then entered. (This might easily have been accomplished, as the guard put no serious look but very slight notice of us.) I thanked him in the best terms I was able; but told him it was a step I could not prearrange myself to take, as I should thereby very ill repay the attachment the gentlemen and the garrison had

shewn to me, and that I was resolved to share their fate, be it what it would ; but pressed him to secure his own escape without loss of time ; to which he gallantly replied, that " he was resolved to share mine, and would not leave me."

" To myself and the world I should surely have stood excused in embracing the overture above-mentioned, could I have conceived what immediately followed. We now observed part of the guard drawn up on the parade, advance to us with the officers who had been viewing the rooms. They ordered us all to rise, and go into the barracks to the left of the court of guard ; the barracks, have a large wooden platform for the soldiers to sleep on, and are open to the west by arches and a small parapet-wall, corresponding to the arches of the verandah without. In we went most readily, and were pleasing ourselves with the prospect of passing a comfortable night on the platform, little dreaming of the infernal apartments in reserve for us. For we were no sooner all within the barracks, then the guard advanced to the inner arches and parapet-wall ; and, with their muskets, presently ordered us to go into the room at the southermost end of the barracks, commonly called the Black-hole prison ; whilst others from the court of guard, with clubs and drawn swords pressed upon those of us next to them. This stroke was so sudden, so unexpected, and the throng and pressure so great upon us next the door of the Black-hole prison, there was no resisting it ; but, like one agitated wave impelling another, we were obliged to give way and enter, the rest followed like a torrent ; few amongst us, the soldiers excepted, having the least idea of the dimensions or nature of a place we had never seen ; for if we had, we should at all events have rushed upon the guard, and been, as the lesser evil, by our own choice, cut to pieces.

" Amongst the first that entered, were myself, Messrs. Baillie, Jenks, Cooke, T. Coles, Ensign Scott, Revelly, Lam and Buchanan. I got possession of the window nearest the door, and took Messrs. Coles and Scott in the window with me, they being both wounded (the first, I believe, mortally) the rest of the above-mentioned gentlemen were close round me : it was now about eight o'clock.

" Figure to yourself the situation of an hundred and forty-six wretches, exhausted by continual fatigue and action, thus crammed together in a cube of about eighteen feet, in a close aukry night, in Bengal, shut up to the eastward and southward, (the only quarters from whence air could reach us) by dead walls, and by a wall and door to the north, open only to the westward by two windows, strongly barred with iron, from which he could receive scarce any the least circulation of fresh air.

"What must ensue, appeared to me in lively and dreadful colours, the instant I cast my eyes round, and saw the size and situation of the room. Many unsuccessful attempts were made to force the door; for, having nothing but our hands to work with, and the door opening inward, all endeavours were vain and fruitless.

"Observing every one giving way to the violence of passions, which I foresaw must be fatal to them, I requested silence might be preserved whilst I spoke to them; and, in the most pathetic and moving terms which occurred, "I begged and intreated, that, as they had paid a ready obedience to me in the day, they would now, for their own sakes, and the sakes of those who were dear to them, and were interested in the preservation of their lives, regard the advice I had to give them. I assured them, the return of the day would give us air and liberty; urged to them, that the only chance we had left for sustaining this misfortune, and surviving the night, was the preserving a calm mind and quiet resignation to our fate; intreating them to curb, as much as possible, every agitation of mind and body as raving and giving a loose to their passions could answer no purpose, but that of hastening their destruction."

"This remonstrance produced a short interval of peace, and gave me a few minutes for reflection; though even this pause was not a little disturbed by the cries and groans of the many wounded, and more particularly of my two companions in the window. Death, attended with the most cruel train of circumstances, I plainly perceived, must prove our inevitable destiny. I had seen this in too many shapes, and accustomed myself to think on the subject too much, to be alarmed at the prospect, and indeed felt much more for my wretched companions than myself.

"Amongst the guards posted at the windows, I observed an old Jemadar near me, who seemed to carry some compassion for us in his countenance; and indeed he was the only one, of the many in his station, who discovered the least trace of humanity. I called him to me, and, in the most persuasive terms I was capable, urged him to communicate the sufferings he was a witness to, and pressed him to endeavour to get us separated, half in one place, and half in another; and that he should in the morning receive a thousand rupees for this act of tenderness. He promised he would attempt it, and withdrew; but in a few minutes returned, and told me it was impossible. I then thought I had been deficient in my offer, and promised him two thousand rupees. He withdrew a second time, but returned soon, and (with I believe much real pity and concern,) told me, it was not practicable; that it could not be

done but by the Soubah's orders, who was sleeping, and that no one dared awake him.

"During this interval, though their passions were less violent, their uneasiness increased. We had been but few minutes confined, before every one felt into a perspiration so profuse, you can form no idea of it. This, consequently, brought on a raging thirst, which still increased, in proportion as the body was drained of its moisture.

"Before nine o'clock, every man's thirst grew intolerable, and respiration difficult. Our situation was much more wretched than that of so many miserable animals in an exhausted receiver; no circulation of fresh air sufficient to continue life, nor yet enough divested of its vivifying particles to put a speedy period to it.

"My thirst grew now insupportable, and difficulty of breathing much increased; and I had not remained in this situation, I believe, ten minutes, when I was seized with a pain in my breast, and palpitation of my heart, both to the most exquisite degree. These roused and obliged me to get up again; but still the pain, palpitation, thirst, and difficulty of breathing, increased. I retained my senses notwithstanding, and had the grief to see death not so near me as I hoped; but could no longer bear the pains I suffered without attempting a relief, which I knew fresh air would and could only give me. I instantly determined to push for the window opposite to me; and, by an effort of double the strength I ever before possessed, gained the third rank at it; with one hand seized a bar, and by that means gained a second, though I think there were at least six or seven ranks between me and the window.

"In a few moments my pain, palpitation, and difficulty of breathing, ceased; but my thirst continued intolerable. I called aloud for "Water for God's sake." I had been concluded dead, but as soon as they heard me amongst them, they had still the respect and tenderness for me, to cry out, "Give him water, give him water;" nor would one of them at the window attempt to touch it until I had drunk. But from the water I found no relief; my thirst was rather increased by it; so I determined to drink no more, but patiently wait the event; and kept my mouth moist from time to time, by sucking the perspiration out of my shirt-sleeves, and catching the drops as they fell, like heavy rain, from my head and face: you can hardly imagine how unhappy I was if any of them escaped my mouth.

"In Bristol water could be more soft or pleasant than what arose from perspiration.

"By half an hour past eleven, the much greater number of those living were in outrageous delirium, and the others

quite ungovernable, few retaining any calmness, but the ranks next the windows. By what I had felt myself, I was fully sensible what those within suffered; but had only pity to bestow upon them, not then thinking how soon I should myself become a greater object of it.

"They all now found, that water, instead of relieving, rather heightened their uneasinesses; and "Air, Air," was the general cry. Every insult that could be devised against the guard, all the opprobrious names and abuse that the Soubah, Manickchund, &c. could be loaded with, were used to provoke the guard to fire upon us, every man that could, rushing tumultuously towards the windows, with eager hopes of meeting the first shot. Then a general prayer to Heaven, to hasten the approach of the flames to the right and left of us, and put a period to our misery. But these failing, they whose strength and spirits were quite exhausted, laid themselves down and expired quietly upon their fellows: others, who had yet some strength and vigour left, made a last effort for the windows, and several succeeded by leaping and scrambling over the backs and heads of those in the first ranks; and got hold of the bars, from which there was no removing them. Many to the right and left sunk with the violent pressure, and were soon suffocated; for now a steam arose from the living and the dead, which affected us, in all its circumstances, as if we were forcibly held with our heads over a bowl full of strong volatile spirit of hartshorn, nor could the effuvia of the one be distinguished from the other; and, frequently, when I was forced, by the load upon my head and shoulders, to hold my face down, I was obliged near as I was to the window, instantly to raise it again, to escape suffocation.

When I had bore this conflict above an hour, with a train of wretched reflections, and seeing no glimpse of hope, on which to found a prospect of relief, my spirits, resolution, and every sentiment of religion gave way. I found I was unable much longer to support this trial, and could not bear the dreadful thoughts of retiring into the inner part of the prison, where I had before suffered so much. Some infernal spirit, taking the advantage of this period, brought to my remembrance my having a small clasp penknife, in my pocket; with which I determined instantly to open my arteries, and finish a system no longer to be borne. I had got it out, when Heaven interposed, and restored me to fresh spirits and resolution, with an abhorrence of the act of cowardice I was just going to commit. I exerted anew my strength and fortitude; but the repeated trials and efforts I made to dislodge the insufferable incumbrances upon me, at last quite exhausted me, and towards two o'clock, finding I must quit the window, or

sink where I was, I resolved the former, having bore infinitely more for life than the best of it is worth.

"In the rank close behind me was an officer of one of the ships, whose name was Garey, who had behaved with much bravery during the siege, (his wife, a fine woman, though country-born, would not quit him, but accompanied him into the prison, and was one who survived.) This poor wretch had been long raving for water and air; I told him I was determined to give up life, and recommended his gaining my situation. On my quitting, he made a fruitless attempt to get my place; but the Dutch serjeant, who sat on my shoulder, supplanted him.

"Poor Garey expressed his thankfulness, and said, he would give up life too; but it was with the utmost labour we forced our way from the window, (several in the inner ranks appearing to me dead standing). He laid himself down to die; and his death, I believe, was very sudden, for he was a short, full, sanguine man; his strength was great, and I imagine, had he not retired with me, I should never have been able to have forced my way.

"I was at this time sensible of no pain, and little uneasiness: I can give you no better idea of my situation, than by repeating my simile of the bowl of spirit of hartshorn. I found a stupor coming on apace, and laid myself down by that gallant old man, the Reverend Mr. Jervas Bellamy, who lay dead with his son, the lieutenant, hand in hand, near the southernmost wall of the prison.

"When I had lain there some little time, I still had reflection enough to suffer some uneasiness, in the thought that I should be trampled upon, when dead, as I myself had done on others. With some difficulty I raised myself, and gained the platform a second time, where I presently lost all sensation; the last trace of sensibility that I have been able to recollect after my lying down, was my sash being uneasy about my waist, which I untied and threw from me.

"In my own escape from absolute death, the hand of Heaven was manifestly exerted: the manner was as follows:—When the day broke, and the gentlemen found that no intreaties could prevail to get the door opened, it occurred to one of them (I think to Mr. Secretary Cooke) to make a search for me, in hopes I might have influence enough to gain a release from this scene of misery. Accordingly Messrs. Lushington and Walcott undertook the search, and by my shirt discovered me under the dead upon the platform. They took me from thence; and, imagining I had some signs of life, brought me toward the window I had first possession of.

" At this juncture the Soubah, who had received an account of the havock death had made amongst us, sent one of his Jemadars to enquire if the chief survived. They shewed me to him; told him I had appearance of life remaining, and believed I might recover if the door was opened very soon. This answer being returned to the Soubah, an order came immediately for our release, it being then near six in the morning.

" The fresh air at the window soon brought me to life; and a few minutes after the departure of the Jemadar, I was restored to my sight and senses. But oh! Sir, what words shall I adopt, to tell you the whole that my soul suffered at reviewing the dreadful destruction around me? I will not attempt it; and, indeed, tears (a tribute I believe I shall ever pay to the remembrance of this scene, and to the memory of those brave and valuable men) stop my pen.

" Being brought into his presence, he soon observed the wretched plight I was in, and ordered a large folio volume, which lay on a heap of plunder, to be brought for me to sit on. I endeavoured two or three times to speak, but my tongue was dry and without motion. He ordered me water. As soon as I got my speech, I began to recount the dismal catastrophe of my miserable companions; but he stopt me short, with telling me, he was well informed of great treasures being buried or secreted in the fort, and that I was privy to it, and if I expected favour, must discover it.

" I urged every thing I could to convince him there was no truth in the information; or that if any such thing had been done, it was without my knowledge. I reminded him of his repeated assurances to me the day before; but he resumed the subject of the treasure, and all I could say seemed to gain no credit with him. I was ordered prisoner under Meer Mudjon, general of the household troops, and, with three gentlemen selected to be my companions, sent the same day (21st of June) to the camp, and soon loaded with fetters; and after enduring much pain and ill treatment, we arrived at Moorshnabad, the capital of Bengal, on the 7th of July, and were deposited in an open stable, not far from the Soubah's palace, under a guard of sepoy, where we were to remain till the Soubah returned to the city.

" During our residence here, we experienced every act of humanity and friendship from Monsieur Law and Mynheer Vernet, the French and Dutch Chiefs of Cossimbazar, who left no means unessayed to procure our release. Our provisions were regularly sent us from the Dutch Tanksal at Corismabad; and we were daily visited by Messrs. Ross and Ekstone, the Chief and second there; and, indeed, received such instances of commiseration and affection from Mynheer Ross, as will ever claim my most grateful remembrance.

"The whole body of Arermenian merchants too, were most kind and friendly to us : particularly Aga Manual Satoor. We were not a little indebted to the obliging good-natured behaviour of Messrs. Hastings and Chambers, who gave us as much of their company as they could. They had obtained their liberty by the French and Dutch Chiefs becoming bail for their apperance. This security was often tendered for us, but without effect.

"On the 11th of July, the Soubah arrived, and with him Bundoo Sing, to whose house we were removed, that afternoon, in a hackery; for I was not able to put my foot to the ground. Here we were confirmed in a report which had before reached us, that the Soubah, on his return to Houghly, made enquiry for us when he released Messrs. Watta and Collet, &c. with intention to release us also; and, that he had expressed some resentment at Meer Muddun, for having so hastily sent us up to Moorshudabad. This proved a very pleasing piece of intelligence to us, and gave us reason to hope the issue would be more favourable to us than we expected.

"Though we were here lodged in an open bungalow only, yet we found ourselves relieved from the people which had stifled us at the stable, and once more breathed the fresh air. We were treated with much kindness and respect by Bundoo Sing, who generally passed some time or other of the day with us, and gave us hopes of being soon released.

"On the 15th we were conducted in a hackery to the Kella, or fort, in order to have audience of the Soubah, and know our fate. We were kept above an hour in the sun, opposite the gate: whilst here, we saw several of his ministers brought out disgraced, in the custody of Soontabardars, and dismissed from their employ, who, but a few minutes before, we had seen enter the Kella in the utmost pomp and magnificence.

"We received notice we could have no admittance to the Soubah's presence that day. We were returned to our former place of confinement, and sent another night in our miserable lodging. Near five the next morning I was waked with the notice, that the Soubah would presently pass by to his palace at Mooteejheel. We roused, and desired the guard would keep the view clear for us. When the Soubah came in sight, we made him the usual salaam; and when he came abreast of us, he ordered his litter to stop, and us to be called to him. We advanced; and I addressed him in a short speech, setting forth our sufferings, and petitioned for our liberty. The wretched spectacle we made must, I think, have made an impression on a breast the most brutal; and, if he was capable of pity or contrition, his heart felt it then. I think it appeared, in spite of him, in his countenance. He gave

me no reply, but ordered a Soontaburdar and Choubdar immediately to see our irons cut off, and to conduct us wherever we chose to go, and to take care we received no trouble nor insult; and having repeated this order distinctly, directed his retinue to go on. As soon as our legs were free, we took boat, and proceeded to the Tanksal, where we were received and entertained with real joy and humanity."

In October, 1757, the Nabob marched against his relation, the Nabob of Purnea. When the two armies drew near each other, the young Nabob was falsely informed, that Seraje ad Dowlah was advanced on an eminence to reconnoitre. Animated at the approach of his rival, and hoping at once to put an end to the war, he hastened to meet him, at the head of a few troops, that chanced to be advanced beyond the rest of his army; but, instead of Seraje ad Dowlah, it proved to be Meer Jaffier and Dost Mahommed Khan, who were very advantageously posted. Still ignorant of his mistake, he rushed forward with great bravery, crying out, "It is the Soubah I seek." Meer Jaffier, desirous to save his life, went so far as to call out to him, that the Soubah was not there; but when he still prest on, unwilling, by giving way, to expose himself to the Soubah's resentment, he was necessitated, in self-defence, to make a vigorous resistance, and in the conflict the Nabob received his death from a musket-ball. By this victory, Seraje ad Dowlah arrived at the greatest height of power a Soubah of Bengal could attain to. He was in the prime of his youth; confirmed from Dhly; the provinces subdued; no rival left; a vast army in his pay; and a full treasury. Flushed with his grandeur, he governed with all the insolence of unbridled power, dreaded by all, and beloved by none.

The remains of our unfortunate colony were now laying on board a few defenceless ships at Fultah, the most unwholesome spot in the country, about twenty miles below Calcutta, and destitute of the common necessities of life: but, by the assistance of the French and Dutch, to whose humanity they were much indebted on this occasion, and partly by the assistance of the natives, who, both from interest and attachment, privately supplied them with all kinds of provisions, they supported the horror of their situation till August, when they received a reinforcement of two hundred and forty men from Fort St. George, under the command of Major Kilpatrick, with money and warlike stores. But their greatest misery was yet to come; for now the sickly season came on, and, what with bad air, bad weather, confinement on board ships, and want of proper refreshments, such a mortality ensued, as swept off almost all the military, and many of the inhabitants. They continued in this situation till the arrival of Admiral Watson.

In the month of December, with the King's squadron, consisting of the *Kent*, *Salisbury*, and *Tyger*, with two frigates, and two Indiamen, having on board six hundred Europeans, and a thousand Seapoys, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Robert Clive, followed by the *Cumberland* and another Indiaman, with one hundred Europeans, and four hundred Seapoys, but which were not yet arrived; a force that could give little hopes of success, but from the great qualities of the gentlemen that commanded it. Admiral Watson was an officer of great bravery, disinterestedness, and public spirit; Colonel Clive was a gentleman, who had already eminently distinguished himself in the war on the coast of *Goromandel*; where, by a long train of successes, against constant superior numbers of the French, he had restored the English affairs, at a time when they were thought desperate: he had lately commanded the land forces on the successful expedition against *Angria*; and was now pitched on as the properest person to restore their affairs in Bengal.

It may appear matter of wonder why the Soubah permitted us to continue so quietly at *Fultah*, till we were become formidable to him; which I can only account for from his mean opinion of us, as he had been frequently heard to say, he did not imagine there were ten thousand men in all *Ferungistan*, meaning *Europe*, and had no idea of our attempting to return by force, but supposed that we staid at *Fultah*, only till the season would permit our going out of the river. And, indeed, it is possible, that, now his anger was subsided, he might see the folly he had committed, and might wish our return on his own terms; which were, to live under his government, without laws or fortifications of our own, and to carry on our trade like the *Armenians* and his own subjects. Whatever the motive was, it was happy for us, and gave us time to prepare every thing to assist the squadron in going up the river; and accordingly, December 27, 1757, the troops were embarked, and the fleet stood up; on the twenty-ninth they were re-landed, for the attack of *Budge Budge*, a place of strength, that, had they understood the art of defence, might have cost us much trouble. After a most fatiguing march, from five in the evening till seven next morning, we came in sight of the place, while, at the same time, the fleet was got abreast, and began to fire. Colonel Clive ordered the grenadiers, volunteers, and all the Seapoys, to go as near as they could, under cover, and be ready for an assault as soon as a breach should be made, whilst the rest of the army halted in a hollow on the plain, in order to intercept the garrison, if they attempted to retreat. While we were in this situation, and ignorant of any other enemy than those in the place, we were alarmed at the

sight of some horse in our rear ; and before we had time to get out of this unlucky situation, we found ourselves almost surrounded by the enemy, who had got possession of the eminences, and began to fire on us. Such a sudden surprise might have endangered our little army, had not the Colonel acted with great presence of mind. He immediately detached platoons wherever the enemy appeared most formidable ; but they, presumptuous from their triumph over us at Calcutta, stood with great boldness, and killed and wounded eight men of the first platoon that advanced ; but now we brought a field-piece to bear upon them, which kept them at a greater distance ; and the detachment that had been made for the assault of the fort, being returned on hearing the firing, and having joined us, we marched into the open plain, and discovered our enemy to be Manickchund, the Soubah's Governor of Calcutta, who was come to throw himself into the place at the head of three thousand horse and foot ; but being stunned with the firing of the King's ships, he thought his assistance would be fruitless, and was returning, when he came unexpectedly upon us, and attacked us with great bravery.

In this skirmish we had twenty-one Europeans killed and wounded, and several Seapoys. Manickchund received a shot through his turban, lost his second in command, and about fifty men, and was so intimidated, by the reception he met with, that, without making any stay at Calcutta, he hastened away to his master, to assure him, that these were not the same kind of Englishmen he had before met with. The ships soon silenced the fort ; and, as our little army was not sufficient to surround the place, the garrison retreated, unknown to us ; and, as the troops had been very much fatigued, the Colonel proposed to defer the assault till day-break ; but a drunken sailor advancing just at the close of the evening very near, and receiving no fire, he gave a huzza, when suddenly the whole army, without waiting for orders or officers, rushed forward over the bridge, which the enemy had neglected to break down, and entered at the breach made by the ships ; and in this confusion Captain Dougal Campbell, pressing forward to restrain the men, was, by mistake, killed by our own people, to the great concern of the whole army, as he was a brave and capable officer, and a worthy, generous man.

On the 2d January 1757, the troops re-embarked, and on the 3d January at day-break, were again landed in sight of Calcutta, which the enemy abandoned almost as soon as our ships came abreast of it, firing only the guns that were ready loaded, which did some execution on the Tyger ; and then Mr. Watson landed the King's troops, and took possession of the fort. The inhabitants, in the joy of returning to their

settlements, seemed to forget they were returned to empty houses, and universal bankruptcy.

The conduct of political affairs was now vested in a select Committee and the Colonel; the Admiral being pleased to declare, they were the best judges of the Company's interest, and that he was ready to execute whatever they thought most conducive to it. The Committee left the correspondence with the Soubah to the Colonel, whom we are henceforward to consider as chief negotiator of all affairs with the government.

An expedition was sent against Hoogly, under the conduct of Major Kilpatrick, with the King's troops, volunteers, grenadiers, and two companies of seapoys, supported by the Bridgewater, and manned boats of the squadron. The enemy were very numerous, having six thousand men in the fort, and in an adjacent camp. They stood the assault, which was very bloody to them, with little loss on our side. The fort and city were plundered, and as many of the magnificent houses destroyed, as the short time would permit.

The account given of us by the Hoogly fugitives and Manickchand, had made such an impression on him, that he would gladly have consented to our return on our former footing; but it hurt his pride, to think of having satisfaction forced from him by merchants: however, he continued his march, determined to fight, or negotiate, as opportunity gave him advantage. The probability of a war with France, which would require our whole force on the coast of Coromandel, the uncertainty of an action, especially if the French should join him; but, above all, a great part of our force not being yet arrived, inclined us to wish for honourable peace. At all events, every day gained was an advantage; we were destitute of draught and carriage oxen, and many other things absolutely necessary, before we could take the field. A camp was formed on a plain about two miles to the northward of Calcutta, which was made as strong as the situation and time would permit; and the Soubah advancing, the troops sent to Hoogly rejoined us, and our whole force now amounted to four hundred battalion, one hundred and twenty train, and one thousand four hundred seapoys; for the Cumberland was not yet arrived.

Colonel Clive, on his first arrival, had wrote the Soubah, "That Admiral Watson, commander of the King's invincible ships; and himself, a soldier, whose conquests in Dekkan might have reached his ears; were come to revenge the injuries he had done the English Company; that it would better become him to shew his love of justice, by making them ample satisfaction for all their losses, than expose his country to be the seat of war." Such a haughty stile astonished him; he would not deign to answer it, but permitted Juggut Sett, and

others of the great men, who had letters addressed to them to the same purpose, to answer them, and directed them to sound their dispositions and expectations; and Juggut Sett's agent in camp wrote, by his orders, to desire the Colonel would send a person, in whom he could confide, to treat with him; whose coming he should wait at a place called Nabob-Gunge, twenty miles from our camp; but the very same day his van appeared, passing our army, as if on their way to Calcutta. This had so much the appearance of an intended insult or deceit, that the Colonel marched out, at the head of four hundred Europeans, and one thousand seapoys, with two field-pieces; and toward the close of the evening, a cannonading ensued; but the enemy was so advantageously posted, that the effect was trifling on either side, and night approaching, the Colonel returned to camp. The Subah, pretending to be ignorant of what had passed, sent a messenger to conduct to him whoever the Colonel should think fit to send; Messrs. Walsh and Derafton were appointed; and in the mean time, under cover of this negotiation, the Subah himself, with his whole army, passed in sight of us, and encamped between our army and the town; which he ridiculously thought a master-piece of policy, on a false notion, that Calcutta, thus deprived of relief, must fall into his hands, and our army would be then at his mercy. The two gentlemen were much surprised to find, that the Subah, instead of waiting at the place appointed, was already with his army in the suburbs of Calcutta. On the 4th February 1757, at seven in the evening, the Subah gave them audience in Omichund's garden, where he affected to appear in great state, attended by the best-looking men amongst his officers, hoping to intimidate them by so warlike an assembly. After the first compliments, they were desired to retire, and acquainted his ministers with their proposals. Prior to any communication, they insisted on the Subah's returning to the place from which he first offered to treat; but finding the minister shuffled with them, they desired a private conference with the Subah: but he judging from his own treacherous disposition, was so firmly persuaded that they had private arms about them, and wanted to assassinate him, that he could by no means be brought to trust himself alone with them; so that, finding the Subah only intended to amuse them, they pretended to be satisfied, and desired to depart. The Subah dismissed them, telling them he expected their return in the morning, with full powers to finish every thing; and desirous, before they quitted the camp, they would go to the tent of Juggut Sett's agent, who had something to communicate to them that would be very agreeable to the Colonel.

The Subah had given orders to detain them there, and proposed to assault the fort the next day; but suspecting his de-

sign, they put out their lights, pushed forward, and soon gained the camp. On reporting their embassy to the Colonel, he determined to attack the enemy at day-break; a resolution that may appear rash to many, for the Soubah's army consisted of at least eighteen thousand horse, and sixty thousand foot, with forty pieces of heavy cannon; but the Colonel considered only the necessity of the attempt, and not the danger; for all our black camp followers had disappeared at the approach of the Soubah's army, and we must very soon have been distressed for provisions. To our force, which I have already mentioned, was added six hundred sailors from the squadron: and the plan of operations was, to nail up the cannon, and push at the head-quarters. On the 5th February we marched at about three in the morning, and our project so far succeeded, that we came upon them unexpectedly; but, when the day appeared, there came on so thick a fog, that it was impossible to discover any object at ten yards distance; and this was the Soubah's preservation; for the fog clearing up for a few minutes, between seven and eight, we found ourselves at a great distance from the head-quarters, and exposed to the enemy's artillery, which did great execution amongst us. The country too was full of holes and ditches, which the enemy had lined with musquetry, which did us some mischief; but from this immense army we had no regular attack, except from a large body of Persian horse, who received a general volley from the whole battalion, which obliged them to face about with the loss of near half their number. Thus finding himself disappointed in his principal object, the Colonel ordered the march towards Calcutta.

The enemy now pressed on our rear, and took two of our field-pieces, one of which had the carriage broke by the badness of the roads, and we had some men picked off from behind cover. At eleven o'clock we reached the fort, and found our whole loss of killed and wounded was about an hundred and twenty soldiers and sailors, and an hundred seapoys; a considerable diminution of our small force! But the enemy suffered much more, having lost six or seven hundred men, killed and wounded, with two general-officers, besides a vast number of oxen, camels, horses and elephants: our army marched out again in the evening to their former camp, the route being within a mile of the Soubah's head-quarters, though covered with a wood; but the morning's alarm had struck such a terror into them, that, far from attacking us, they were ready for confused flight, with which we were not at that time acquainted. The greatest advantage we reaped from this action, was in the effect it had upon the Soubah, who was not only intimidated by the boldness of the attempt, but struck with his own pru-

dence, in having exposed himself to be attacked at such a disadvantage. To add to his uneasiness, he thought he discovered some appearance of disaffection in some of his principal officers, particularly in Meer Jaffier, whose conduct in this affair had been very mysterious. The Soubah's army passed that night under arms, in continual apprehension of being attacked; and early in the morning he sent a messenger to enquire the cause of our behaviour, and to renew the treaty; and under cover of this negotiation, he thought himself very happy in quitting the neighbourhood of Calcutta, and encamping on a plain within sight of our army. Had he continued there but one day longer, the Colonel intended to have had a battery on Dum Dum bridge, which would have commanded the lake, and put his army entirely at our mercy. But now, only sensible of our own loss, and ignorant of the effect it had on the enemy, we gladly renewed the treaty, which in two days was signed by both parties.

Articles signed and sealed by His Excellency Seraje ad Dowlah, Soubah of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, dated February 9, 1757.

I. Whatever rights and privileges the King has granted the English Company in their Phirmaunds, and Husbulhookums, shall be acknowledged and stand good; whatever villages have been given to the Company by the Phirmaunds, notwithstanding they have been withheld by former Soubahs, shall be given up to them; nor shall the Zemindars oppose their taking possession of those villages.—Agreed to.

II. All goods passing and repassing through the country, by land or by water, with English dustacks, shall be exempted from any tax, fee, or imposition, of the Ghautwallas, Chokeedars, Zemindars, or others.—Agreed to.

III. All the Company's factories seized by the Soubah, shall be returned; all the money, goods, and effects, belonging to the Company, their servants and tenants, which have been seized and taken by the Soubah, shall be restored; and what has been plundered by the people, made good by the payment of such a sum of money, as his justice shall think reasonable.—I will restore only what has been accounted for in the government books.

IV. The Company shall be allowed to fortify Calcutta, in such manner as they shall think proper, without hindrance or obstruction.—Agreed to.

V. And to coin siccas, both of gold and silver, of equal fineness with those of Moorshudabad, which shall pass current through the provinces.—Agreed to.

Then followed the Soubah's seal; and having sworn to fulfil the same, Meer Jaffier and Roybullab, two of his general officers, under-signed it as securities.

The Soubah then sent the usual present to the Governor, Admiral, and Colonel, consisting each of an elephant dress, and head-jewel; which were received by the Governor and Colonel, as representatives of the Company. Mr. Watson, as representative of the King, refused to accept the present; but received the Soubah's officers who brought it in a very polite manner on board the Kent, and displayed to them his lower tier of thirty-two pounders, of which they made a dreadful report to their master; who, not conceiving any great liking to his new friends, marched with all haste to the capital, happily for his subjects, somewhat humbled by his late defeat. Mr. Watts being well versed in the country language, and in their politics and customs, accompanied the Soubah, to attend the fulfilling of the treaty.

The Afghaun mountaineers, who possess Kandahar and the mountains that divide Persia from Hindoostan, encouraged by the success of former invaders, entered the country with so powerful an army, commanded by an old officer of the Shah's, named Abdullah Khan, that the court of Dehly, unable to resist, submitted to the conqueror; and news now came, that he intended a visit to the eastern provinces. This alarmed the Soubah, who acquainted the Colonel with it, and dropped some hints of wanting his assistance. The Colonel on the first advices, crossed the Ganges, which was equally convenient either to march to Chandernagore, or to the Soubah.

Mr. Watts found, that the French had, by the prevailing power of corruption, won over to their interest several courtiers, who were most in the Soubah's confidence; and had certain information, that the Soubah had wrote to Mons. Bussey, who commanded a large army in the Dekkan, that he might be assured he would never fulfil the treaty, but would infallibly join the French, and fall on us, whenever our squadron and forces left the river; that the only way to prevent it, was, to attack the French, while he was influenced by his fears of the Afghauns. Mr. Watts's judgement will hereafter appear to be well founded, as the Soubah had already sent a large body of troops to assist the French; had returned the two lacks of rupees taken from them the year before; and had entered into some private negotiation with the French governor, wherein he promised him the government of Hoogly, a mint, and other advantages. His espousing their cause so warmly, made us still cautious of provoking him too far; but Mr. Watts made so artful an use of his fears of the Afghauns, observing to him that we could never think of leaving our settlement to be attacked by the French, in case he required our assistance against them, that, partly by such arguments, and, taught by the French the power of money at the

Soubah's court, partly by a handsome present of money to his first secretary, he produced the following letter from him to Mr. Watson :

" Your agreeable letter, acknowledging the receipt of mine, which you tell me has dispelled your anxiety ; that you had hitherto forbore attacking the French, out of regard to me ; that you had prepared reasonable articles ; had sent for them, and told them to sign them ; that they gave for answer, if any future commander should disapprove them, they had now power to over-rule him ; that therefore peace had not taken place, with other disagreeable circumstances : I have received, and I have well considered it. If it be true, that one Frenchman does not approve, and abide by a treaty entered into by another, no confidence is to be placed in them. The reason of my forbidding war in my country is, I look on the French as my own subjects, because they have, in this affair, implored my protection ; for which reason I wrote to you to make peace with them, or else I had neither pleaded for them, nor protected them ; but you are a generous and wise man, and well know, if an enemy comes to you with a clear heart, to implore your mercy, his life should be granted to him ; that is, if you think him pure of heart ; but, if you mistrust his sincerity, act according to the time and occasion."

This letter may be very well understood, as a consent to our attacking the French, though it certainly was never meant as such ; for he had not only his colours flying, and a body of men at Chandernagore, but had ten thousand men marching towards us, under the command of Royballub, who were advanced as far as Plassey, near thirty miles from the capital ; another of four or five thousand still nearer, under the command of Manickchund : but another well-applied bribe to Nundcomar, the governor of Hoogly, removed all obstacles ; for it persuaded him to withdraw the troops under his command from Chandernagore, and to write the Soubah, " That as the French were by no means able to resist the English, he had therefore ordered his troops to Hoogly, lest his victorious colours should be involved in their disgrace." This the Soubah approved of, and wrote to Royballub and Manickchund to proceed no farther. Thus, floating between his fears and wishes, he shamefully abandoned those whom he was bound, both for his honour and interest, to support ; and now no further obstacle remaining, Colonel Clive, who was advanced almost to the limits of Chandernagore, as if on his way to join the Soubah, immediately began the siege.

The fort was a regular square, mounting twelve twenty-four pounders on each bastion, with several cannon mounted en barbette ; a fine ravelin before the gate to the river-side ; the

ditch imperfect ; no glacis ; and but a small esplanade of about two hundred and fifty yards ; and had, of soldiers, sailors, and other Europeans, near six hundred men in garrison, besides three hundred good seapoys. It was invested on the 13th of March ; on the 14th the French abandoned their outworks ; and from that time to the 22d, were mostly employed in erecting two batteries, which were then ready. On the 23d, Mr. Watson, joined by Mr. Pocock, (who, on his ship's arrival at Balasore, hearing what was going forward, to partake of the glory of the action, came up in a light boat, and hoisted his flag on board the Tyger) passed the ships the French had sunk, owing to their neglect, in sinking them so wide as to leave a passage between them, and at seven in the morning the ships came abreast of the fort, and the land batteries were opened.

For two hours it was as bloody an engagement as any during the whole war. The Kent lay exposed to a terrible fire from the flank of the inland bastion, by the tide falling, and preventing her coming to her proper station. In this attack, Captain Speak, the Admiral's captain, whose wise counsels and enterprising spirit contributed much to the great success of the little squadron in India, had part of his leg carried away by the same ball that unfortunately killed his son. Mr. Perrault, first lieutenant, and several other officers, were killed. The Tyger also suffered very considerably in men and officers, and Mr. Pocock himself received a slight wound. But the French, having several guns dismounted, their parapet almost demolished by the fire of the ships ; their whole curtain enfiled by the fire of our musquetry from the tops of the houses of the town ; and a breach nearly made ; capitulated, and had favourable terms granted them. The army suffered but very little, but the squadron had above an hundred and forty killed and wounded. The goods found in the warehouses were sold for the benefit of the army and navy, and produced about ten lacks of rupees.

The squadron returned to Calcutta, but the army encamped at the back of Chaadernagore. Seraje ad Dowlah was in a great agitation of mind during the siege, sometimes threatening Mr. Watts, and sometimes caressing him, conformable to the news of the day ; but, when the fatal event of the surrender of the place was communicated to him by a letter from the Colonel, wherein he ascribed his success to the favour of Heaven and his Excellency's auspices, under which his arms had been so fortunate ; he affected to conceal his chagrin in outward demonstration of joy, and wrote the Colonel the most pompous congratulations upon the occasion. To complete his confusion, he now received the news of the Afghans' return to their own country, having carried away almost as great a treasure as Na-

dir Shah; and also of Mons. Bussey's being obliged to return to quiet some troubles that had broke out in the Dekkan; so that looking on us as his only enemies, and sensible of his folly in abandoning the French to us, he determined to protect the small remainder of them, which was about an hundred men, collected together at Cossimbazar, under the command of Mons. Laws, and to dissemble his resentment, till the return of our squadron and forces to the Coast, gave him an opportunity to fall on us again, and extirpate us for ever. But, as the whole tenor of his conduct strongly indicated, that he had views of further service from this body of Frenchmen, Mr. Watson wrote him, "That if he continued to protect the King's enemies, he would light up a flame in his country, that all the waters of the Ganges should not quench." Thus intimidated, he obliged the French to quit the province, and to retire to Patna, where he kept them in reserve against a long-wished moment; when the return of our force to the Coast should leave us exposed to his revenge. From the time he heard that Chandernagore was taken, he never enjoyed a moment's peace of mind. His imagination was ever haunted by dreadful notions of the King's ships, which he was told, and was idle enough to believe, could be brought up the Ganges, close to his capital; and, to prevent it, he dammed up the mouth of the Cossimbazar river. To increase his apprehensions, our army still continued in camp near Hoogly. These circumstances, together with the mortification of refunding the plunder of Calcutta, and the repeated demands of the French, would sometimes make his anger burst out from under the veil of dissimulation, in which he endeavoured to cover it. In one of these transports, he determined to break with us, and ordered Meer Jaffer, with a large body of troops, to join those at Plassey, promising him a reward of ten lacks of rupees the day he returned victorious; and sent for Mr. Laws to come down immediately from Patna, for that he was determined to fall on us; and turned our Vakeel out of the Durbar. But these fits of valour were of short duration, his fears again prevailed; the march of the troops was countermanded; the Vakeel honoured with a dress; Mr. Watts caressed, and his revenge smothered, till it might blaze forth with more security. But he had now given such strong indications of his resolution never to forgive us, that Colonel Clive, necessitated by these repeated proofs of the Soubah's perfidious intentions, recommended to Mr. Watts the forming of a party to join us, in case things should come to extremes, which many circumstances concurred to facilitate. The Soubah, by the severity and capriciousness of his temper, had made himself many secret enemies, both in his court and army. The old ministers of his

predecessors were obliged to give way to new favourites, chosen from the dregs of the people, and there was hardly one of them but had, in his starts of passion, been threatened with death; while mutual mistrust prevented their taking any measures for their preservation. At last one of them, named Khoda Yar Khan Laitte, thinking there was more confidence to be placed in us than in his own countrymen, sent a message to Mr. Watts, that he had something of great importance to communicate to him, and wished to see him. Mr. Watts was too closely watched by the Soubah's spies to venture himself, but sent one Omichund to him, who was an agent under him. To him he opened his mind freely, acquainting him with his own danger; assured him the Soubah was firmly bent on extirpating us, and made a tender of his services; Omichund confirmed him in his fears of the Soubah, and gave him hopes his proposals of the like nature from Meer Jaffier, a general of the first rank, and nearly related to the Soubah, by his marriage with Allyverde Khan's sister. I have before mentioned, that this gentleman's mysterious conduct in the last battle, where he kept himself at a distance, waiting to see what issue the affair was likely to have, had made the Soubah suspicious of him, as well as of Roybullub, for his close connection with him.

The uneven temper of the Soubah could never long retain its disguise; for though he affected an exaggerated friendship for those he intended to destroy, yet his real sentiments would now and then escape him; and he had been frequently heard to say, he would have the heads of them both. This had been told them, and sufficiently warned them to provide for their safety; so that Meer Jaffier and Roybullub, both judged the English protection would be a port of safety to them. They sent a man privately to Mr. Watts, to let him know how they stood affected, and to assure him, that Seraje ad Dowlah was determined never to forgive the English the disgrace of his late defeat, and waited only a proper opportunity to fall on them again, and concluded with a hint that many of the principal officers of the army, whose lives were in continual jeopardy from the cruel and capricious temper of the Soubah, had determined to depose him; that if the English would support Meer Jaffier in his views on the Subahship, he would readily make any concessions that might be deemed necessary, to indemnify the English for the losses they had sustained, and to render their trade advantageous to them. These proposals were received with great satisfaction; and Mr. Watts acquainted the Colonel, and the gentlemen below, with it, who immediately empowered him to treat, and settle the plan of operations with Meer Jaffier. Mr. Watts had an interview with Meer Jaffier, who represented to him, that nothing could be done

while the Nabob's army was in the field, as it separated him from the heads of his party; and hindered him from concerting proper measures with him. It was agreed, therefore, to lull the Soubah into a firm persuasion of our peaceable intentions, to try, by dissimulation, to remove this obstacle. For this purpose, the Colonel ordered the army into quarters, and wrote the Soubah, "That while the armies continued in the field, their enemies would be endeavouring to interrupt that perfect harmony and friendship which subsisted between them; that he had therefore put his army into quarters; and, thought he had no reason to doubt his Excellency's strict adherence to, and full compliance with all the articles of the treaty, yet, nevertheless, he wished he would disappoint those hopes their mutual enemies entertained, by withdrawing his army from Plassey, and that he would hasten the payment of the money, and other articles of the treaty."

The Soubah was glad to be freed from the uneasiness our army gave him, by being in the field, thanked the Colonel for this proof of his friendship, and promised to put his troops into quarters: but these words were too inconsonant to his schemes, to be followed by actions; for he still continued his army encamped, and prolonged, to the utmost, the execution of the treaty. By the happy use of an unexpected event, this obstacle was removed, and the Soubah became the dupe of his own projects.

The Marhattas, hearing of the troubles in Bengal, and thinking it a proper opportunity to annex so rich a province to their already too extensive empire, wrote to the Governor of Calcutta the following letter:

Ballajerow Seehoo Bajeerow, Vizier to Ram Rajah, brother to Rajah Seehoo, from Hyderabad, to Roger Drake, Governor of Calcutta.

"I have long time wished for a meeting with you, which the great distance has prevented. Every thing prospers with me; and it is my wish that success attend you, with long life and happiness. Your misfortunes have been related to me by Ragoojee, son to Janoogee. Make yourself easy, and be my friend; send me your proposals, such as you imagine may be for the best; and, with the Divine assistance, Shumser Khan Behadur, and Ragoo Baboo, son to Bajeerow, shall enter Bengal with a hundred and twenty thousand horse; besides, there are other forces shall be ready at your call, if you have need of them, having wrote to Ameer Khan to proceed to you, whenever you shall write to him to that effect. Whatever merchandize and riches you have lost in Bengal, the double of its value shall be restored by me. Do not, on any account, make peace with the Nabob. In a few days my forces shall enter Bengal,

and the trade of the province shall be entirely yours. Govindroy will relate to you further particulars : to him communicate what force you have need of, and due regard shall be paid to your directions. The French shall not remain in Bengal : your forces shall keep them out by sea, mine by land."

The person mentioned in the letter had a private conference with Colonel Clive, wherein he confirmed the contents. The Colonel's first reflection was, that this might possibly be an invention of the Soubah to sound his intentions ; when suddenly, with that quickness of thought by which he was distinguished on all emergencies, he determined to turn the stratagem on the head of the inventor, by sending the letter to the Soubah himself, which, if suspicions were just, would deceive the Soubah into a firm persuasion that we had no jealousy of his design ; or if the letter was real, would awe him by the fear of so powerful an alliance. Mr. Scrafton was accordingly dispatched with these proposals, accompanied by a letter from the Colonel ; in which he wrote him, "That notwithstanding he had put the army into quarters, and given every proof his Excellency could require of his firm intentions to preserve the peace, he was not yet so happy as to gain his Excellency's confidence, who still kept a large army encamped at Plassey, which seemed to hang like an impending storm over our heads ; kept the provinces alarmed, and prevented the merchants from resorting to Calcutta. That he had but one proof more to give him of his sincerity, which the bearer would acquaint him with. If that would not suffice, he should think himself for ever banished from his confidence and friendship."

The Soubah, who had been informed by his spies of the interview between the Colonel and the Marhatta agent, and of his letter being on the way, was impatient to know the contents. Mr. Watts introduced Mr. Scrafton to the Soubah, and they found him accompanied by Narain Sing, the head spy, Manickchund, and Juggut Sett. The Soubah affected to be charmed with the Colonel's letter, which was enforced by every argument suitable to the occasion ; he expressed some doubt of the Colonel's sincerity, but found himself obliged to put on the appearance of conviction, when the Marhatta's letter was delivered to him. Having read it, he broke forth into loud acclamations to the Colonel's praise ; and, thinking now to deceive us by this feigned confidence, said, he would order his army into quarters ; and did not doubt but our fleet and army would quit the country as soon as the season would permit ; and desired we would go to Rajah Mohunloll, his prime minister, to whom he had given orders to finish our affairs ; and immediately ordered the troops into the city.

The minister acted the same part as his master ; but, like an old practitioner in ministerial arts, proposed, that the Colonel should send up a discharge in full of all sums stipulated by the treaty, though nothing was yet determined with respect to the thirty-eight villages,* and very little progress made in the rest of the treaty ; and that by the time it arrived, the whole should be discharged. The Soubah returned the Colonel a favourable answer, and told the gentleman who carried the letter, that he expected him back in a week with the desired discharge, and then he would reward him with great presents and honours.

Every thing was now in a fair way ; the Plassey army broken up and put into quarters ; and Meer Jaffier, after having consulted with Roybullub, and the head of his party, concluded the following treaty with Mr. Watts. and promised to join us as soon the armies drew near each other. We, on our parts, promised, by the blessing of God on our arms, to make him Soubah of the three provinces.

Treaty executed by Meer Jaffier Khan Behadur.

I swear by God, and the Prophet of God, to abide the terms of this treaty whilst I have life.†

Treaty made with Admiral Watson, Colonel Clive, and the Counsellors, Mr. Drake and Mr. Watts.

Art. I. Whatever articles were agreed upon in the time of peace, with the Nabob Seraje ad Dowlah, I agree to comply with.

II. The enemies of the English are my enemies, whether they be Indians or Europeans.

III. All the effects and factories belonging to the French in the province of Bengal, the paradise of nations, and Behar, and Orissa, shall remain in the possession of the English, nor will I ever allow them any more to settle in the three provinces.

IV. In consideration of the losses which the English Company have sustained by the capture and plunder of Calcutta by the Nabob, and the charges occasioned by maintenance of the forces, I will give them one crore of rupees.

V. For the effects plundered from the English inhabitants at Calcutta, I agree to give fifty lacks of rupees.

VI. For the effects plundered from the Gentoos, Moors, and other inhabitants of Calcutta, twenty lacks of rupees shall be given.

VII. For the effects plundered from the Armenian inhabitants of Calcutta, I will give the sum of seven lacks of rupees.

* See the first article of the treaty, page 122.

† These words were written in his own hand, at the beginning of the treaty, and were authenticated by him.

The distribution of the sums allotted to the English, Gentoe, Moor, and other inhabitants of Calcutta, shall be left to Admiral Watson, Colonel Clive, Roger Drake, William Watts, James Kilpatrick, and Richard Beecher, Esquires, to be disposed of by them, to whom they think proper.

VIII. Within the ditch surrounds the borders of Calcutta, are tracts of land belonging to the several Zemindars; besides these, I will grant to the English Company six hundred yards without the ditch.

IX. All the land lying south of Calcutta, as far as Culpee, shall be under the Zemindary of the English Company; and all the officers of those parts shall be under their jurisdiction. The revenues to be paid by the Company in the same manner with other Zemindars.

X. Whenever I demand the assistance of the English, I will be at the charge of the maintenance of their troops.

XI. I will not erect any new fortifications near the river Ganges below Houghly.

XII. As soon as I am established in the three provinces, the aforesaid sums shall be faithfully paid.

Dated the fifteenth of the month Ramzan, (June 1757,) in the fourth year of the present reign.

There was a separate treaty, stipulating the payment of fifty lacks to the army and navy.

Our affairs were now drawing to a crisis, when an event happened, that had like to have blasted all our hopes. Whether any thing of our connections with Meer Jaffier had reached the Soubah's ears, or whether he had before projected his destruction, and thought this the properest opportunity, while we seemed so quiet, is uncertain; but Meer Jaffier thought himself in such danger, that he would no longer venture to go to court, and on his disobedience of the Soubah's summons, his death was resolved upon. The artillery was pointed against his house, and the troops ordered to surround it. Meer Jaffier acquainted the Colonel with his situation, and wrote him, that nothing could extricate him from the danger he was in, but the news of his march. The die was cast; and on the 13th of June the whole army marched forward, and the Colonel wrote the Soubah, the very day of his march, to the following purport: "That, from his great reputation for justice, and faithful observance of his word, he had been induced to make peace with him, and to pass over the loss of many crores of rupees, sustained by the English in the capture of Calcutta, and to rest content with whatever he, in his justice and generosity, should restore to them; that his Excellency had not thought fit to set any value on the friendship of the English, but had, in every thing, discouraged, as much as possible, the

Company's business, by turning their Vakeel disgracefully from his persence, refusing free passage to the English through the country, intercepting their trade, and searching their factory at Cossimbazar for ammunition and warlike stores, on pretence of their intending an attempt on his life, in the time of profound peace ; threatening them with instant rupture, if they did not submit to the search ; that these were but trifles, compared to his open and avowed protection of the King's enemies, of which his letters to Mons. Bussey, wrote but a few days after his entering into a solemn treaty with us, inviting him to his country, was a flagrant proof ; that his protection, and allowance of ten thousand rupees per month, to Mons. Laws, and many other circumstances, were not only so many deviations from the treaty, but evidently shewed his Excellency's intention to fall upon the English, as soon as the absence of their troops might expose them to it ; that the main article of the treaty was infringed, in his proffering only a fifth part of the sum paid into the treasury, for the plunder of Calcutta, and yet demanding a discharge for the whole. The Colonel complained bitterly of so many insults put upon him, and reminded the Soubah how different his own conduct was, when called upon to assist against the Pattans. He solemnly declared, his intentions were to have fought for him to the last drop of his blood ; but seeing his Excellency had chosen his friends from among his enemies, and had, in every respect, deviated from his engagements, he had determined, with the approbation of all who were charged with the Company's affairs, to proceed immediately to Cossimbazar, and submit their disputes to the arbitration of Meer Jaffier, Roybullub, Juggut Sett, and others of his great men. That if it should be found, that he, the Colonel, had deviated from the treaty, he then swore to give up all further claims ; but that, if it appeared his Excellency had broke it, he should then demand satisfaction for all the losses sustained by the English, and all the charges of their army and navy ; and concluded with telling him, that the rains being so near, and it requiring many days to receive answer, he had found it necessary to wait upon him immediately."

Affairs between the Soubah and Meer Jaffier were now at a crisis. Some of the few who were faithful to the Soubah, assured him it was at Meer Jaffier's instigation that we marched up, and advised him to fall on him immediately ; but others, of Meer Jaffier's party, who were in his confidence, persuaded him to make up the breach for the present, and defer his designs to some more favourable occasion. If the Soubah erred before in abandoning the French, he doubly erred now, in admitting a suspicious friend, and one whose death he was

still determined on, to continue in the charge of a great body of troops, which self-defence would have taught him to make use of for his own preservation. He was sensible of his weakness; but, instead of having resolution to rise above it, and terminating his fears at once, by the attack of Meer Jaffier, he endeavoured to deceive him, by the thin disguise of grace and pardon, confirmed by oaths. The Koran was introduced, the accustomed pledge of their falsehood; the Soubah swore he would never attempt his life; Meer Jaffier, that he would be his faithful soldier, and fight for him to the last drop of his blood. They parted with smiles on their countenances, and treachery in their hearts, each happy in the thought of overreaching the other; and now we were the grand object of their attention. The Soubah immediately took the field, with about twenty thousand horse, and fifty thousand foot, and fifty pieces of heavy cannon; whilst our army, consisting of a thousand Europeans, and two thousand Seapoys, with six field-pieces, and a small detachment of sailors from the squadron, were advanced, partly by land, and partly by water, as far as the town of Cutwa. Three days were passed there in the most uneasy suspense, waiting for intelligence of the issue of the dispute between the Soubah, and our ally Meer Jaffier. In this doubtful interval the majority of our officers were against crossing the river, and every thing bore the face of disappointment; but, on the 22d of June, the Colonel received a letter from Meer Jaffier, which determined him to hazard a battle; and he passed the river at five in the evening. The Soubah was now within twenty miles of us; but, far from being puffed up with the superiority of his numbers, he betrayed his anxiety at the approaching moment, when his life and government were to be exposed to the issue of a battle. Mistrust of his own army, and the dread of an enemy, who had before defeated him, made him presage the worst; and a trifling circumstance, which he took for an ill omen, confirmed him in his fears: it is indeed the effect alone which can excuse my mentioning it.

As he was sitting in his tent, the evening before the battle, revolving in his mind the doubtful issue, his attendants imperceptibly left him, one by one, till he was alone; when a fellow entered, unperceived by the Soubah, and carried off some of the gold top of the hookah he was smoking, and cut off some of the broad-cloth of his tent. It shocked his soul to think, that he, whose frowns were death but in the morning, should now be so little feared. He called for his attendants, and cried, with great emotion, "Sure they see me dead."

However, with an appearance of composure, ill suited with the pangs he felt, he ordered the disposition of his army, and

began his march before day-break. Ours, after a most fatiguing march, from five in the evening, till one in the morning, which was absolutely necessary, in order to be possessed of Plassey town and grove before the enemy could reach it, halted in the grove till day-break; when the Soubah's army appeared marching from their fortified camp before-mentioned; and what with the number of elephants, all covered with scarlet cloth embroidery, their horse, with their drawn swords glistening in the sun, their heavy cannon, drawn by vast trains of oxen, and their standards flying, they made a grand and formidable appearance. And their disposition, as well as the regular manner in which they formed, seemed to speak greater skill in war than we expected from them. But what avails pomp and parade, when the heart is not fired by loyalty to its prince, or love to its country?

At six in the morning, June 23d, the enemy was discovered marching in a deep column from their old camp: between every body of four or five thousand was a part of their artillery. In this order they continued marching, as if they intended to surround us, as far as the river would permit; but as soon as their rear was got out of the camp, they halted, and a body of about fifty Frenchmen advanced in front of the rest, their officer calling out, in vain, for some of the Soubah's troops to follow him: for such was their mistrust of each other, that no commander dared to venture on singly, for fear some other commander, suspected of attachment to us, should fall on him. These advanced, under cover of an eminence, to within about five hundred paces of us, and then began a general cannonading. Our little army was at first drawn up without the bank which surrounded the grove, but we soon found such a shower of balls pouring upon us from their fifty pieces of cannon, most of which were thirty-two and twenty-four pounders; that we retired under cover of the bank, leaving two field pieces without, whilst the other four kept playing through the breaches in the bank. In this posture both armies remained till about twelve, when a heavy shower of rain falling, the enemy's horse advanced, as if they meant to take advantage of it; but when they found our field-pieces kept firing, notwithstanding the rain, it checked their ardour. The rain ceasing, the cannonading continued till about four in the afternoon, when they began to retire to the old camp, their artillery marching in first. And now we took notice of a large body on our left, moving in such a manner, as to make it doubtful whether their aim was to possess themselves of the village on our left, or whether they were friends, and wanted to join us. However, as no signal had been agreed on, owing to the miscarriage of a messenger, who had been

dispatched to us in the morning by Meer Jaffier, we kept them at a distance by our field pieces. When all their artillery was got within the camp, Major Kilpatrick moved forward with about two hundred Europeans and three hundred seapoys, and possessed himself of the eminence, where the French had been, till they retired with the rest. On this motion, the enemy seemed inclined to come out again on the plain; but Colonel Clive ordering all our fire to be directed against their oxen and drivers, after several attempts they were obliged to give over, and several large bodies of horse began to advance on us, and take possession of an adjacent eminence; but we presently observed their elephants unruly, and great confusion amongst them. The Colonel conceiving this the moment on which the success of the day depended, immediately ordered the eminence and their camp to be assaulted by the advanced body and the whole army to march forward. The enemy stood their ground at the eminence long enough to receive a general volley, when they faced about with great precipitation; and some of their ammunition blowing up just as Colonel Clive was marching up to their camp, it put them into such confusion, as made them incapable of resistance, and the rout became general. Their camp, baggage, and cannon, all fell into our hands, and we continued the pursuit all night. Thus was this decisive victory obtained, with the trifling loss of about seventy men killed and wounded on our side, and about five or six hundred on the enemy's.

One great cause of our success was, that in the very beginning of the action, we had the good fortune to kill Meer Muddun, one of the Soubah's best and most faithful officers, which struck such a terror into him, that he sent for Meer Jaffier, threw his turban at his feet, and told him, with a most dejected countenance, "That it was he that must protect that turban." Whether this moved Meer Jaffier's compassion, or his politics were to save appearances with both parties, is uncertain; but he did not offer to join us, only wrote the Colonel a note, advising him to push forward, for that the battle was more than half won: in every thing else he stood neuter during the whole action.

Despondency had now taken such possession of the Soubah's soul, that he left the field at four in the evening, on an elephant, and made such haste, that he was himself one of the first that carried the news of his defeat to the capital, which he reached that night. Meer Jaffier's troops retired slowly and regularly from the field of action, marching wide of the rest of the Soubah's army, and halted a few miles from us. In the morning the Colonel sent Omar Beg, and Mr. Scrafton, to Meer Jaffier. As soon as he saw the messen-

gers, he advanced forward, with his son, to meet them; but was far from testifying that joy which might have been expected: Probably, bred up in the treacherous court of Ally-verde Khan, he harboured some suspicion that the Colonel might resent his conduct, in not joining him conformably to his promises; for afterwards, when the guards drew out to receive him as he passed, he started, as if he thought it was all over with him; nor did his countenance brighten up, till the Colonel embraced him, and saluted him Soubah of the three provinces, advising him to hasten to the capital, to prevent its being plundered, and to assume the title of Soubah, in which he would support him with all his force as soon as possible. We continued our joyful march towards the city, and had the pleasure to see the marks of our victory all through our route, the plains being covered with cannon, trains of oxen, broken carriages, wounded horse, and, among the rest, an elephant found dead, sixteen miles from the field of battle, with two six-pound shot lodged in his body.

Let us now follow Seraje ad Dowlah. On his arrival at the city, he assembled all his great officers, to consult them on this unfortunate event: some advised him to deliver himself up to the Colonel, against whom he had no hope of success, having been twice defeated by him. This, which was the most prudent advice, his shallow judgment mistook for treachery. Others advised him to open his treasury to his army, and endeavour, by great rewards, to spirit them up to make another effort. He seemed to approve of this; immediately ordered three months pay to his army, and dismissed his council with assurances of his heading his troops again in the morning. But, when left by himself, he suffered all the pangs of adversity. His terrified imaginations represented every one that approached him as a traitor, that wanted to deliver him up. He abandoned himself to his fears, and, knowing not whom to trust, he disguised himself in a mean dress, and stole out of a window in the dead of night, with no attendants but one faithful servant.

Before Meer Jaffier could enter the palace, the women had broke loose from their confinement, and carried off jewels to an immense value; while the soldiers had broke into the treasury, and carried away great sums of money. All was anarchy and confusion; the frightened inhabitants stood in dreadful suspense expecting nothing but massacre and desolation from a victorious army; till the arrival of Mr. Watts and Mr. Walsh, sent forward by the Colonel, and a proclamation issued out, that Meer Jaffier was appointed Soubah by Colonel Clive, turned their fears to astonishment.

This, with the news of the halt of our army on the 25th and 26th, restored tranquillity to the city. Meer Jaffier, whether

conscious how little he had contributed to our success, or that a Mussulman could not conceive such moderation, when we had the whole in our power, still doubted the reality of his exaltation, and it was with great difficulty that Messrs. Watts and Walsh could prevail on him to act as Soubah.

On the 27th the Colonel entered the city, with two hundred Europeans, and five hundred seapoys, and took up his quarters at a palace near the Soubah's. Upon the Colonel's arrival, Juggut Sett, and several of the great men, anxious for their fate, sent their submission, with offers of large presents, which the Colonel refused, assuring them he desired nothing but their assistance in settling the government. The next day Meer Jaffier visited the Colonel, and accompanied him in great pomp to Juggut Sett's house, where they settled all money affairs.

On the 29th, the Colonel went to the Soubah's palace; and in the presence of all the Rajahs and great men of the court, led him to his throne, and, in compliance with the custom of the country, made his submission to him as Soubah, by presenting him with a few pieces of gold, in which he was followed by all the great men present. From this time Meer Jaffier assumed the title of Mohabut Jung, and acted as Soubah of the three provinces.

The first fruit of our success, was the receipt of near a million sterling, which the Soubah paid us on the 3d of July, and was laden on board two hundred boats, part of the fleet that attended us in our march up, escorted by a detachment from the army. As soon as they entered the great river, they were joined by the boats of the squadron, and all together formed a fleet of three hundred boats, with music playing, drums beating, and colours flying, and exhibited to the French and Dutch, by whose settlements they passed, a scene far different from what they had beheld the year before, when the Nabob's fleet and army passed them, with the captive English, and all the wealth and plunder of Calcutta.

While we were thus happy in our success, Seraje ad Dowlah was travelling in disguise, like a miserable fugitive, towards Patna, where he hoped once more to appear in arms; but being discovered by the Governor of Rajmahal, Meer Jaffier's brother, he was surrounded; and advice of it reaching the Soubah, he sent his son to take him prisoner, and bring him to the city, where he arrived on the 4th of July at night, unknown to the Colonel, and was privately put to death by the order of Meer Jaffier, who came in the morning to apologize for having taken such a step without consulting him. This account is given by Mr. Scrafton; but the letters which passed between Admiral Watson and Seraje ad Dowlah, and

the account given by Lord Clive, giving further light into the conduct on both sides, are the subject of the following sheets.

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**LETTERS BETWEEN THE NABOB AND ADMIRAL
WATSON, &c.**

*Admiral Watson's Letter to Seraje ad Dowlah, Nabob of the
Provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa.*

The King my master (whose name is revered among the monarchs of the world) sent me to these parts with a great fleet, to protect the East India Company's trade, rights, and privileges. The advantages resulting to the Mogul's dominions from the extensive commerce carried on by my master's subjects, are too apparent to need enumerating: how great was my surprize, therefore, to hear you had marched against the said Company's factories, with a large army, and forcibly expelled their servants, seized and plundered their effects, amounting to a large sum of money, and killed great numbers of the King my master's subjects!

I am come down to Bengal to re-establish the said Company's servants in their former factories and houses, and hope to find you willing to restore them their ancient rights and immunities. As you must be sensible of the benefit of having the English settled in your country, I doubt not you will consent to make them a reasonable satisfaction for the losses and injuries they have suffered, and by that means put an amicable end to the troubles, and secure the friendship of my King, who is a lover of peace, and delights to act in equity. What can I say more?

From on board his Britannick Majesty's ship Kent, at Fulta, the 17th Dec. 1756.

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Seraje ad Dowlah's Letter to Admiral Watson.

Jan. 23, 1757.

You write me, that the King your master sent you into India to protect the Company's settlements, trade, rights, and privileges: the instant I received this letter I sent you an answer; but it appears to me that my reply never reached you, for which reason I write again. I must inform you, that Roger Drake, the Company's Chief in Bengal, acted contrary to the orders I sent him, and encroached upon my authority; he gave protection to the King's subjects who absented themselves, from the inspection of the Durbar, which practice I did forbid, but to no purpose. On this account I was determined to punish him, and accordingly expelled him my country: but it was my inclination to have given the English Company per-

mission to have carried on their trade as formerly, had another Chief been sent here : for the good therefore of these provinces, and the inhabitants, I send you this letter ; and if you are inclined to re-establish the Company, only appoint a Chief, and you may depend upon my giving currency to their commerce upon the same terms as heretofore enjoyed. If the English behave themselves like merchants, and follow my orders, they may rest assured of my favour, protection, and assistance.

The slave of Allumghêr, King of Hindoostan, the mighty conqueror, the lamp of riches, Shah Cooly Khan, the most valiant amongst warriors.

Admiral Watson's Answer.

Dated 27th of Jan. 1757.

Your letter of the 23d of this month I this day received ; it has given me the greatest pleasure, as it informs me, you had written to me before, a circumstance I am glad to be assured of under your hand, as the not answering my letter would have been such an affront as I could not have put up with unnoticed, without incurring the anger of the King my master.

You tell me in your letter, that the reason of your expelling the English out of these countries was, the bad behaviour of Mr. Drake, the Company's Chief in Bengal. But, besides that Princes and Rulers of states, not seeing with their own eyes, nor hearing with their own ears, are often misinformed, and the truth kept from them by the arts of crafty and wicked men, was it becoming the justice of a Prince to punish all for one man's sake ? Or to ruin and destroy of many innocent people as had no way offended, but who, relying on the faith of the royal Phirmaund, expected protection and security both to their property and lives, instead of oppression and murder, which they unhappily found ? Are these actions becoming the justice of a Prince ? Nobody will say they are. They can only then have been caused by wicked men, who have misrepresented things to you through malice, or for their own private ends ; for great Princes delight in acts of justice, and in shewing mercy.

If therefore you are desirous of meriting the same of a great Prince, and lover of justice, shew your abhorrence of these proceedings, by punishing those evil counsellors who advised them ; cause satisfaction to be made to the Company and to all others who have been deprived of their property, and by these acts turn off the edge of the sword, which is ready to fall on the heads of your subjects.

If you have any cause of complaint against Mr. Drake, as it is but just the master alone should have a power over his

servant, send your complaints to the Company, and I will answer for it they will give you satisfaction.

Although I am a soldier as well as you, I had rather receive satisfaction from your own inclination to do justice, than be obliged to force it from you by the distress of your innocent subjects.

The Nabob's Reply.

You have taken and plundered Hoogly, and made war upon my subjects: these are not actions becoming Merchants! I have, therefore, left Moorshudabad, and am arrived near Hoogly; I am likewise crossing the river with my army, part of which is advanced towards your camp. Nevertheless, if you have a mind to have the Company's business settled upon its ancient footing, and to give a currency to their trade; send a person of consequence to me, who can make your demands, and treat with me upon this affair. I shall not scruple to grant a Purwannah for the restitution of all the Company's factories, and permit them to trade in my country upon the same terms as formerly. If the English who are settled in those provinces will behave like merchants, obey my orders, and give me no offence, you may depend upon it I will take their loss into consideration, and adjust matters to their satisfaction. You know how difficult it is to prevent soldiers from plundering in war; therefore if you will, on your parts, relinquish something of the damages you have sustained by being pillaged by my army, I will endeavour to give you satisfaction even in that particular, in order to gain your friendship, and preserve a good understanding for the future with your nation. You are a Christian, and know how much preferable it is to accommodate a dispute, than to keep it alive; but if you are determined to sacrifice the interest of your Company, and the good of private merchants, to your inclinations for war, it is no fault of mine: to prevent the fatal consequence of such a ruinous war, I write this letter.

The Nabob's Proposals of Peace to Admiral Watson.

"The Colonel's letter I have received, with the agreement of the Governor and Council signed and sealed. He desires me to get the articles of the treaty now made, ratified by my great men and principal officers. I have complied with his request: it will be proper, likewise, for you and the Colonel, on one part, and myself on the other, to execute an agreement that hostilities between us shall cease; that the English will always remain my friends and allies; and that they will assist me against my enemies: for this purpose I send a person of distinction and confidence, who will speak at large the senti-

ments of my heart ; and I hope you will inform him of your disposition towards me. The articles which were sent to me, I have returned, signed by myself, the King's Dewan, my own Dewan, and the Bukhsby of my army. I should be glad if you would confirm this treaty by a paper under your hand and seal, as the Colonel has done. I have, in the most solemn manner, called God and the Prophets to witness, that I have made peace with the English. As long as I have life, I shall esteem your enemies as enemies to me, and will assist you to the utmost of my power whenever you require it. Do you likewise, and the Colonel, and the Chiefs of the English factory, swear, in the presence of the Almighty God, to observe and perform your part of the treaty, and to esteem my enemies as your own, and always be ready to give me your assistance against them : and, though you may not come yourself, I flatter myself, you will send the aid I shall at any time ask for. God is the witness between us in this treaty."

"God and his Prophets are witnesses, that I never will deviate from the terms of the treaty I have now made with the English Company, and that I will on all occasions shew them my favour, relying on your faith to observe inviolably your part of the treaty."

The Nabob's Letter to Admiral Watson.

"To put an end to the hostilities in my country and dominions, I consented and agreed to the treaty of peace with the English, that trade and commerce might be carried on as formerly ; to which treaty you have agreed, and a firm accommodation between us is settled and established : you have sent me an agreement under your own hand and seal, not to disturb the tranquillity of my country ; but it now appears that you have a design to besiege the French factory near Hoogly, and to commence hostilities against that nation. This is contrary to all rule and custom, that you should bring your animosities and differences into my country ; for it has never been known, since the days of Timoor, that the Europeans made war upon one another within the King's dominions. If you are determined to besiege the French factories, I shall be necessitated, in honour and duty to my King, to assist them with my troops. You seem inclined to break the treaty so lately concluded between us ; formerly the Marhattas infested these dominions, and for many years harrassed the country with war, but when the dispute was accommodated, and a treaty of peace with that people concluded, they never broke it, nor will they ever deviate from the terms of the said treaty. It is a wrong and wicked practice, to break through and pay no regard to treaties made in the most solemn manner : you

are certainly bound to abide by your part of the treaty strictly, and never to attempt, or be the occasion of any troubles or disturbances in future, within the provinces under my jurisdiction. I will, on my part, observe most punctually what I have promised and consented to.

"I will maintain and preserve, on my part, the treaty of peace I have made with the English, which, with the permission of God, I hope will continue for ever: you may have heard, that for seven years we had constant wars with the Marhattas; but when a treaty of peace was concluded with them, they strictly observed the terms, and never deviated from them. It is but just and reasonable, that your nation should pay regard to the late treaty, and commit no hostilities in my country, nor disturb its tranquillity with any differences that may subsist between you and other European powers."

To this the Admiral sent the following Reply, dated the 21st of February, 1757.

"Your letter of the 19th I was honoured with this morning; and observe that you disapprove of our committing hostilities against the French settled in these province. Had I imagined it would have given you any umbrage, I should never have entertained the least thoughts of disturbing the tranquillity of your country, by acting against that nation within the Ganges; and am now ready to desist from attacking their factory, or committing other hostilities against them in these provinces, if they will consent and agree to a solid treaty of neutrality; and if you, as Subahdar of Bengal, will, under your hand, guarantee this treaty and promise to protect the English from any attempts made by that nation against our settlements during my absence. I am persuaded you have heard of no people in the world who pay a stricter regard to their word, and to the faith of treaties, than the English; and I do sincerely assure you, that I will inviolably preserve the peace we have concluded with you; and I dare answer for the Colonel and the Company's representatives, that they will not attempt to infringe any part of it.

"I have ratified the late treaty between you and the English, with my hand and seal: and I now repeat my assurance, made in the presence of God, and Jesus Christ, that I maintain and preserve inviolably my part of the said treaty, not doubting of your sincerity in performing such articles as you have consented to. I likewise promise, that I will not disturb the tranquillity of your country, by committing any hostilities against the French, provided you will be answerable for their observance of a strict neutrality with us."

The French, by the prevailing power of corruption, had gained some of the courtiers, and they so influenced the Na-

hob, that, without waiting for the above answer to his letter of the 19th, on the 20th he sent another letter to the Admiral.

"The letter I wrote to you yesterday, I imagine you have received; since which I have been informed, by the French Vakeel, that five or six additional ships of war have arrived in the river, and that more are expected. He represents, likewise, that you design commencing hostilities against me and my subjects again, as soon as the rains are over. This is not acting agreeable to the character of a true soldier, and a man of honour, who never violate their words. If you are sincere in the treaty concluded with me, send your ships of war out of the river, and abide steadfastly by your agreement; I will not fail in the observance of the treaty on my part. Is it becoming or honest to begin a war, after concluding the peace so lately and solemnly? The Marhattas are bound by no gospel, yet they are strict observers of treaties: it will, therefore, be matter of great astonishment, and hard to be believed, if you, who are enlightened with the gospel, should not remain firm, and preserve the treaty you have ratified in the presence of God and Jesus Christ."

To this the Admiral replied, in a Letter dated the 25th of February, 1757.

"Your letter of the 20th instant I received two days ago; but being just in the height of my dispatches for England, I was not able to answer it till now. I know not how to express to you my astonishment, at finding myself taxed with having a design to break the peace, on so slight a foundation as a base fellow's having dared to tell you so, without any one action of mine being produced to support so extravagant and impudent an accusation, which has not the least shadow of probability to render it credible. You tell me, "It is unworthy the character of a soldier, and a man of honour, to violate their words!" In what single instance, since my being here, have I acted so unworthily as to make you think me capable of violating mine? Yourself can answer for me, "In none." My dealing with you hath always been full of that frankness and sincerity, for which my countrymen are remarkable throughout the known world. From you, Sir, I expect justice on that base man, who has dared falsely to accuse me, and to impose upon you. In the mean time, I have complained to the French of their Vakeel's behaviour; who have promised me to write to you their knowledge of the falsity of his accusation. You may rest assured, that I will always religiously observe the peace; and I beg you to believe, that people who raise reports to the contrary, can only do it to create jealousies, which they hope will break the friendship they are sorry to see between us."

Notwithstanding the Nabob had by this time sent a body of troops to assist the French, he sent the following letter to the Admiral.

The Nabob to the Admiral.

"The letter you wrote me about the French affair, I have received and perused : you may depend upon it, that I neither have, nor will, assist the French. If they begin any troubles, or commit any hostilities in my territories, I will oppose them with my whole force, and punish them very severely. I was informed you designed to attack Chandernagore, which made me write to you what I thought was reasonable and just, upon that head. The forces I sent down were to guard and protect the King's subjects, and not to assist the French. If the purport of my letter has been the occasion of your desisting from the attack of Chandernagore, it gives me great satisfaction. I have written to the French, likewise, what I thought was proper, in order to make them apply for a neutrality : I suppose they will act conformably. I will send a person of consideration to bring me the treaty you may conclude with them, and will order it to be registered in my books. Assure yourself that I have no other design or inclination, than to live upon terms of good understanding and friendship with the English. By the grace of God, I never intend to do any thing that you will not esteem just ; this rely upon, and do not expect a failure. Do you likewise remain fixed to your treaty and word, and give no credit to the reports of people of no consideration or figure : if you have any thing to write about, please to address me, and no body else ; I will always send you a fair and unreserved answer.

"The van of the King of Dehli's army is advancing towards the provinces ; upon this intelligence I design marching towards Patna to meet them. If at this critical juncture you will be my friend, and send me assistance, I will pay your forces a lack of rupees monthly, while they remain with me. Send me an immediate answer."

The Admiral to the Nabob.

"I this moment received your letter, which gives me the greatest satisfaction. I had a suspicion, from your so easy crediting French reports, that you entertained a partiality for that nation, to the prejudice of mine, your letter has removed all my doubts, so that henceforward I shall rely with confidence on your friendship, and every day study to give you the strongest proofs of mine.

"The ready obedience I paid to your desire, in not attacking the French, will, I persuade myself convince you that

nothing but the strongest necessity could make me again apply to you on that subject. I beg you will give your most serious attention to what I am going to say :—Immediately on the receipt of one of your past letters, I not only gave over all thoughts of attacking the French, but invited them to enter into a treaty of neutrality, and to send people here to settle the terms ; but judge what must have been my surprize, when, after they were in some manner settled, the French deputies owned that they had no power to secure to us the observance of the treaty, in case any commander of theirs should come with a greater power after my departure ! You are too reasonable not to see, that it is impossible for me to conclude a treaty with a people who have no power to do it, and which, besides, while it ties my hands, leaves those of my enemies at liberty to do me what mischief they can. They have also for a long time reported, that Monsieur Bussy is coming here with a great army. Is it to attack us ? You are going to Patna—you ask the assistance of our forces. Can we with the least degree of prudence march with you, and leave our enemies behind us ? You will be then too far off to support us, and we shall be unable to defend ourselves. Think what can be done in this situation. I see but one way. Let us take Chandernagore, and secure ourselves against any apprehensions from that quarter, and then we will assist you with every man in our power, and go with you even to Dehli, if you will. Have we not sworn reciprocally, that the friends and the enemies of the one should be regarded as such by the other ? and will not God, the avenger of perjury, punish us, if we do not fulfil our oaths ? What can I say more ? Let me request the favour of your speedy answer.

“ You tell me the van of the King of Dehli’s army is advancing towards these provinces, and that you are going towards Patna to meet them ; in consequence of which, you ask me to be your friend, and give you assistance. Have we not already sworn a friendship ? Put it into my power to assist you, by yielding to my request, and you shall find I will support you to the utmost of my ability. Believe me, and most assuredly you will not be deceived. If you doubt me, look back into all my dealings towards you, and judge from them. I esteem you now to be such a friend to my nation, that I think it would be doing injustice to your good inclination towards me to keep any occurrence from your knowledge, therefore I take this earliest opportunity to tell you, the troops which should have come here with me, are now arrived in the river, a circumstance that will be beneficial to your interest, if you will but give the means of making it so.”

A few days after this, the Admiral's favourable sentiments of the Nabob were entirely changed ; he was convinced that he had entered into a private negotiation with the French, and was determined to support them, even with his whole force, while every article of his treaty with us remained unfulfilled. He, therefore, on the 4th of March, sent the following letter.

The Admiral to the Nabob.

" I answered your letter of the 20th. of last month some days past ; I suppose you have, ere now, received it, and are thereby fully convinced of the falsehood of the French Vakeel's informations, of my intention to break the peace.

" If you still want farther proofs of the sincerity with which I made it, and the desire I have to persevere it, you will find them in my patience, which has not only suffered your part of the treaty to be thus long unexecuted, but has even borne with your assisting my enemies the French with men and money, contrary to your faith, pledged to me in the most solemn manner, " That my enemies should be your's."

" Is it thus that soldiers and men of honour never violate their word ? But it is time now to speak plain : if you are really desirous of preserving your country in peace, and your subjects from misery and ruin, in ten days from the date of this, fulfil your part of the treaty in every article, that I may not have the least cause of complaint ; otherwise, remember, you must answer for the consequences ; and, as I have always acted the open, unreserved part, in all my dealings with you, I now acquaint you, that the remainder of the troops, which should have been here long since, and which, I hear, the Colonel told you he expected, will be at Calcutta in a few days ; that in a few days more I shall dispatch a vessel for more ships and troops ; and that I will kindle such a flame in your country, as all the water in the Ganges shall not be able to extinguish. Farewell : Remember that he promises you this, who never yet broke his word with any man whatsoever."

The Admiral, on the 9th of March, received from the Nabob the following Answer :

" I have already answered the letter you wrote me some days ago. Be so kind as to consider the purport of what I wrote, and send me a speedy reply. I am fixed and determined to abide by the terms of the treaty we have concluded, but have been obliged to defer the execution of the articles, on account of the *Hooly*, during which holidays my Bapians and Ministers do not attend the Durbar. As soon as that is over, I will strictly comply with every thing I have signed. You are sensible there is no avoiding this delay, and I flatter

myself it will not be thought much of. It is not my custom to break any treaty I make, therefore be satisfied that I will not endeavour to evade that which I have made with the English. I rely on your friendship and bravery, in giving me the assistance I asked, against the van of the Pattan army, who are advancing this way; and that you will oblige me with a compliance to the request I made in my last letter. What shall I say more.

"I beg you will be sensible of my sincerity. I promise you in the most faithful manner that I will never break or infringe my part of the treaty I have made with your nation."

Inclosed in this letter came a small paper with these lines:

"This you may be sure of, that if any person or persons attempt to quarrel with you, or become your enemies, I have sworn before God that I will assist you. I have never given the French a single cowry; and what forces of mine are at Hoogly, were sent to Nundcomar, the Foujdar of that place. The French will never dare to quarrel with you; and I persuade myself that you will not, contrary to ancient custom, commit any hostilities within the Ganges, or in the provinces of which I am Soubahdar."

The Admiral received also from the Nabob another letter, dated the 10th of March, 1757.

"Your obliging answer to my letter I have received, wherein you write, that your suspicions are at an end; and that, on the receipt of my letter, you forbore attacking Chanderanagore, and sent for their people to make peace, and wrote out the terms of agreement; but when they were about signing them, they declared, that if they signed the articles, and any other commander should arrive, they could not be answerable for his adhering; and that on this account there was no peace. You also write many other particulars, of which I am well acquainted. It is true, if it is the custom of the French, that if one man makes an agreement, another will not comply with it, what security is there? My forbidding war upon my borders, was because the French were my tenants, and upon this affair desired my protection. On this I wrote to you to make peace, and no intentions had I of assisting or favouring them. You have understanding and generosity; if your enemy with an upright heart claims your protection, you will give him his life, but then you must be well satisfied of the innocence of his intentions; if not, whatever you think right, that do. I am firm to my agreement, and look upon your enemies as my own; which I shall never swerve from. Daily our friendship will increase."

CHANDERNAGORE TAKEN FROM THE FRENCH.

Colonel Clive, the latter end of February, 1757, left his camp near Calcutta, and crossed the Ganges, which was equally convenient either to commence hostilities against the French, or to join the Nabob against the Pattan forces; but the intentions both of the Nabob and the French being very manifest, on the 8th of March he turned his face towards Chandernagore, and on the 13th he invested it. On the 14th the enemy sallied out; in which affair Captain Coote greatly signalized himself, and soon after made them retreat; on this they quitted their outer works, and became masters of the town, and the batteries in and about it, with very little loss; and the enemy, by this means, were shut up within their fort.

As soon as every thing was in readiness on board the fleet, and the ships cleared of their superfluous stores, they moved up the river with the flood-tides. To the great mortification of the French (who had flattered themselves that it would be impracticable for us to bring up our largest ships,) on the 18th the Kent, Tyger, and Salisbury appeared in sight of the fort, and then, turning the point of Chandernagore reach, anchored on the 19th off the Prussian octagon, from whence we had a full view of the town and fortifications. As soon as we came to an anchor, the French threw a shell, and fired a shot or two, to try if they could reach our ships, but they fell short.

The preparations for the attack of this place had unavoidably been carried on so openly, that it was impossible they should be kept a secret from the French, who had therefore made use of every possible method to frustrate our design. Just above the fort of Chandernagore, there was a large bank of sand, which made the passage very narrow: to block up this channel, they had sunk three ships loaded with ballast; the masts of which, however, appeared above water. Three other large ships lay at anchor above the fort: these, it was said, were prepared as fire-ships to be sent down with the tide, to burn our squadron in the middle of the night. The Admiral therefore resolved to be beforehand with them, and gave orders, that all the boats of the ships should go up, as soon as the night came on, and endeavour to cut their cables. This was accordingly done, and they all drove upon the sands. It afterwards appeared, that the crews belonging to those ships had been taken out to reinforce the garrison.

The attack of the fort would probably have taken place the next morning, had the tides in the river been at all favourable for that purpose; but, unfortunately for us, they served either too early in the morning, or too late in the afternoon. This circumstance obliged the Admiral to postpone the attack for two or three days. In the mean time he sent Lieutenant Key

with a flag of truce to the Governor, demanding a surrender of the place; which he politely, but absolutely refused to give up. Mr. Key having observed, as he passed between the vessels' masts, which were sunk in the channel of the river, that their hulls were not deep under water, Mr. John Delamotte, a brave and active officer, and who was master on board the Admiral's ship, was the next day sent to sound them; and, notwithstanding all the efforts of the enemy to interrupt him, by an incessant firing of their cannon, he brought back the agreeable news, that there was room for our ships to pass with safety between them; but besides the obstruction which we expected to meet with from these swarmed vessels, the French had taken care to erect two batteries of heavy cannon, to render this narrow pass still more difficult and dangerous. One of these was constructed in the form of a half-moon, and lay on the very brink of the river, within musket-shot of the sunken vessels; the other was a fascine battery on the glacis of the fort, and was intended to rake our ships fore and aft. The cannon on their south bastion could also be brought to fire down the river.

The disposition made for attacking the fort was as follows: The *Tyger* was to be placed against the north-east bastion; the *Kent* against the curtain, between the bastions opposite the gate; and the *Salisbury* against the south-east bastion. Before we began the attack, it was judged absolutely necessary that Colonel Clive should erect a battery on the side of the river, to fire on the south face of the enemy's south-east bastion; and, in case of an obstinate resistance, that we might breach that bastion by a cross fire from the ships, and from this intended battery. Preparations were accordingly made for this purpose; but, before they could be carried into execution, the army were obliged to make themselves masters of the half-moon battery, which they did with great gallantry, driving the enemy's troops before them into obscurity. All things being ready, on the 22d the Admiral appeared extremely anxious to begin the attack; but the flood-tide in the afternoon was so very late, the ships could not possibly be placed in their proper stations, while there was sufficient daylight to direct our fire; the enemy, therefore, would have had a great advantage over us; for though the nights were too dark for us to distinguish the embasures of their fortifications, yet they could plainly see the hulls of our ships, which would have lain so near the fort, that a shocking carnage must have been made amongst their crews. That another day's howd ever, might not be lost, the Admiral, the same evening, ordered lights to be placed on the masts of his vessels that had been sunk, with blinds towards the fort, that we might see

how to pass between them a little before day-light, and without being discovered by the enemy. At length, on the morning of the 28d March, the ships getting under sail, the Colonel's battery, which had been finished behind a dead wall, began firing upon the south-east bastion. The *Bygon*, with Admiral Pocock's flag flying, took the lead and, about six o'clock in the morning got very well into her station the north-east bastion. The *Kent*, with Admiral Watson's flag, quickly followed her; but before she could reach her proper station, the tide of ebb made down the river, which embarrassed her anchor to drag; so that before she brought up, she had fallen abreast of the south-east bastion, the place where the *Salisbury* should have been, and, from her mainmast aft, she was exposed to the flank guns of the south-west bastion also. This accident of the *Kent*'s anchor not holding fast, and her driving down into the *Salisbury*'s station, threw this last ship out of action, to the great mortification of the Captain, officers, and crew; for she never had it in her power to fire a gun, unless it was now and then, when she could sheer on the tide. The French, during the whole time of the *Kent* and *Tyger*'s approach towards the fort, kept up a terrible cannonade upon them, without resistance on their parts; but as soon as the ships came properly to an anchor, they returned it with such fury, as astonished their adversaries.

Colonel Olive's troops at the same time got into those houses which were nearest the fort, and from thence greatly annoyed the enemy with their musketry. The fire now became general on both sides, and was kept up with extraordinary spirit. The flank guns of the south-west bastion galled the *Kent* very much; and the Admiral's aid-de-camp being all wounded, Mr. Watson went down himself to Lieutenant William Brereton, who commanded the lower-deck battery, and ordered him particularly to direct his fire against those guns; and they were accordingly soon afterwards silenced. At eight in the morning a shot of the enemy's shot struck the *Kent* at the same time; one entered near the fore-mast, and set fire to two or three thirty-two pound cartridges of gunpowder, as the boys held them in their hands ready to charge the guns. By the explosion, the wads and other loose things, both fire between decks, and the whole ship was so filled with smoke, that the men in their confusion cried out, she was on fire in the gunner's store-room; imagining, from the shock they felt from the balls, that a shell had actually fallen into her. This notion struck a panic into the greatest part of the crew, and 70 men jumped out of the port-holes into the boats that were alongside the ship. The French presently saw this confusion on board, the *Kent*, and, resolving to take the ad-

vanity; kept up as hot a fire as possible upon her during the whole time. Lieutenant Brerston, however, with the assistance of some other brave men, soon extinguished the fire; and then running to the ports, he begged the seamen to come in again, upbraiding them for deserting their quarters: but finding this had no effect upon them, he thought the more certain method of succeeding would be to strike them with a sense of shame, and therefore loudly exclaimed, "Are you Britons, are you Englishmen, and fly from danger? for shame, for shame!" This reproach had the desired effect; to a man, they immediately returned into the ship, repaired to their quarters, and renewed a spirited fire on the enemy.

In about three hours from the commencement of the attack, the parapets of the north and south bastions were almost beaten down; the guns were mostly dismounted; and we could plainly see from the main-top of the Kent, that the ruins from the parapet had entirely blocked up those few guns which otherwise might have been fit for service. We could easily discern too, that there had been a great slaughter among the enemy; who, finding that our fire against them rather increased, hung out the white flag: whereupon a cessation of hostilities took place, and the Admiral sent Lieutenant Brerston (the only commission officer on board the Kent that was not killed or wounded), and Captain Coote, of the King's regiment, with a flag of truce to the fort; who soon returned, accompanied by the French governor's son, with articles of capitulation: which being settled by the Admiral and Colonel Clive, they soon after took possession of the place.

CONTINUATION OF THE CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN ADMIRAL WATSON AND SERAJE AD DOWLAH.

Admiral Watson to the Nabob.

26th March, 1757.

"I have the honour of several of your letters, which I would have paid due attention to, and answered immediately, had not the service I came here upon engaged all my time. I hope you will accept this as a reasonable excuse for my long silence. I have now the pleasure to acquaint you, that on the 23d of this month, after two hours fighting, we, by the blessing of God, and the happy influence of your fortune and friendship, subdued and took possession of the French fort, making our enemies prisoners, except a small number, who fled up the river with their effects. I have sent a few armed men to seize them; and I persuade myself you will not be

displeased at this step, since I have given the strictest orders not to molest or disturb any of your subjects.

"I have often declared to you my unalterable resolution of strictly adhering to the treaty made between us; and, as we have sworn reciprocally, that the enemies of either should be esteemed the enemies of both, I hope, by your favour, the enemies I have now remaining, will be delivered into my hands, together with their effects.

"The moment I received your letter, complaining of Mr. Drake's having addressed himself to Manickchand in a manner displeasing to you, I wrote to Mr. Drake, and desired he would make an apology to you, for the expressions he had made use of to Manickchand; which he has done, and I hope you are satisfied therewith: you may rest assured, you will have no cause of such complaint for the future.

"I observe by your letter of the 22d of this month, that you were under a necessity of sending your brother, Rajah Roy Dallubsum Behadar, into the Bardwan country, to collect the revenues, which Manickchand excused himself from paying: as you have given me your word, that this is the purpose of his march, it is not in the power of any artful, designing person to make me believe the contrary; and, as it will be evermore my first principle to promote and establish the friendship made between us, I shall be very cautious how I give credit to any idle stories, tending to break the unity, which I hope will endure for ever between you and the English. I am sensible our nation has many enemies at your court; but, as you are a wise and prudent Prince, I hope you will in time discover all the wickedness of those, who, by asserting for positive truths what have appeared to be notorious falsehoods, have attempted to injure us in your opinion. As I know your ears have been filled with evil reports of us, and you will be subject to hear the stories of such deceivers, a person in whom I confide will be sent to you: receive what he may say, as my sentiments, and be assured you shall not be deceived. What can I say more?

This letter not producing the desired effect, and being too well convinced that the Nabob had hostile intentions in his breast; for, instead of delivering up, he corresponded with and protected our French enemies, the Admiral addressed another letter to him, dated the 31st of March, 1757.

"I have already informed you of our conquest of Chandernagore, and making all the French our prisoners, except some fugitives who fled up the river; after which, I told you, I had sent some armed men in boats. I am sorry I should be under the necessity of sending you another letter; but having received information that you have not as yet performed your

agreement, I must take leave to acquaint you; that, from the repeated promises you have made; of keeping your word in every respect, I now expect you will act conformably to the oath you have taken before God and your prophet, and comply immediately with all the articles of the treaty. Deliver also the cannon to Mr. Watts; which you now have belonging to the Company, and strictly keep to the oath we have both sworn, of living in friendship, and esteeming each other's enemies our own; and deliver up into my hands all the French in your dominions, with their effects. This will be keeping your oath, and behaving like a Prince whose pursuit is justice, and whose utmost glory, as a soldier, is preserving his word inviolable. Depend upon it, if there are any about you bold enough to advise you to act contrary to these just demands, they are your enemies, and want to see your country involved in ruinous war; which nothing but your breach of promise, of faith, and of honour, shall ever prevail on me to engage in. Nothing will give me more satisfaction, than the being assured that continual peace and friendship will for ever last between you and the English. Since I began this letter, I am informed the fugitive French have offered to enter into your service. If you accept this offer, I shall conclude that you intend to favour the French, and desire to live no longer in friendship with me; especially as you have declined the assistance of the English troops, after strongly soliciting them."

The Admiral, not being able to obtain any answer to this, sent another letter:

The Admiral to the Nabob.

Kent, off Chandernagore, 2d of April, 1757.

"I have been informed that you express some uneasiness at our ships remaining at this settlement, and our army being encamped near Hoogly. I find that our enemies have taken the advantage of your uneasiness, and endeavoured to persuade you our troops propose marching up in a hostile manner against you to Moorshudabad. It is amazing to me, that any one should dare to impose so grossly on your understanding, without trembling at the consequence, should his arts be discovered. And it also surprizes me, that you should hearken to such idle stories. You, as a soldier, must know, that while I have enemies yet in your dominions, it would be very impolitic in me not to pursue them. Yet, if you will deliver up my enemies, and their effects, to me, my ships and troops shall immediately return to Calcutta; and then, and not before, shall I be convinced of your sincerity and resolution in abiding by the oath you have taken, of regarding my enemies as your own."

The day after the forwarding of the above, the Admiral received the following letter from the Nabob, though dated the 22d of March, 1757.

"What I have promised, and set my hand to, I will firmly maintain, nor in any respect deviate therefrom. All Mr. Watts's demands, and whatsoever he has represented to me, I have complied with, and what remains, shall be given up by the 15th of this moon. This Mr. Watts must have written to you, with all the particulars; but, notwithstanding all this, it appears to me, from many instances, that you seek to obliterate your agreement with me. The country within the territories of Hoogly, Hidgelea, Burdwan, and Nuddea, has been ravaged by your troops. For what cause is this? Add to this, that Govindram Mitter wrote to Nundcomar, by the son of Ramdhong Ghose, requiring him to deliver Kalighaut, as belonging to the districts of Calcutta, into his said Mitter's possession. What is the meaning of this? I am sure this has been done without your knowledge. In confidence of your engagement, I made peace; with the view of procuring the welfare of the country, and to prevent the ruinous consequences which would befall the royal territories from both armies, and not that the people should be trampled upon, and the revenues obstructed.

"Your endeavours should be, daily to strengthen more and more the friendship which has taken root betwixt us, and to that end; put a stop to the influence of this mischief-maker, and discountenance the aforesaid Mitter, in such a manner, that he may not dare to say these things, nor be guilty of such false proceedings for the future. By the will of God, the agreement shall never be infringed upon my part. I have spoken to Mr. Watts fully on this subject; the particulars of which you will have in his letter.

"P. S. I have just learned that the French are bringing a large force from the Dekkan, to make war against you; for this reason I write to you, that if you stand in need of any forces of the government for your support, you will immediately acquaint me, and they shall be ready to join you whenever you shall have occasion for them."

This produced the following reply.

The Admiral to the Nabob.

Dated Calcutta, 3d of April, 1757.

"The letter you did me the honour to write the 22d of last month, did not come to my hands till this day. As the subject of it required an answer as soon as possible, I make no doubt but you have been surprised, at not having found any thing in my three last letters relating thereto. But this is

forms you of the true reason, and I hope will satisfy you of my readiness always to acknowledge the receipt of your favours. The assurance you continue to give me, of firmly maintaining the agreement between us, makes me hope you will listen to all the just demands in my letters; as the delivering up my enemies into my hands, with all their effects, and complying with all the articles of the treaty: the latter part, you promise me, shall be done the 15th of this moon, which will be to-morrow, when I hope Mr. Watta will be able to write, and assure me you have fulfilled your promise. You tell me, that notwithstanding the order you have given for every thing being complied with, and fixing the day for its being done, yet it appears to you, from many instances, that I intend to break my agreement. You must suffer me to tell you, that your apprehensions of my not strictly abiding by the treaty I have made, are founded on false representations, made to you by Manickbund, excuse himself from paying the revenues of the several countries you say have been pillaged by the English. How can this possibly be? when the English troops, since the happy peace made with you, have penetrated no farther into the Burdwan country, than marching from Bankeybazar to Chandernagore, along the shore; and since the conquest of the French, a few armed men were sent after some fugitives a little way, but they have been ordered back some time since, and are returned.

"Of this, upon very little reflection, you must be sensible; Why then will you hearken to those who seek every opportunity to deceive you, and make you believe such things, as are in their nature impossible? For how could the territories of Hoogly, Hidgelee, Burdwan, and Nuddea, be ravaged by our troops, when the troops have been no farther than I have assured you? I am afraid the person who dares attempt the imposing on you so gross a falsehood as this, has reason to think you may easily be persuaded into a belief of any thing, that would serve as a pretence for your displeasure against the English; otherwise, I think, no one would presume to fill your ears with such false and idle stories. What you tell me relating Govindram Mitter, you do me great justice in believing, he has acted in the manner he did, without my knowledge. You may be assured I will take pains to enquire into every circumstance of that matter, and will see that strict justice is done to you, and give Mitter a severe rebuke for his late behaviour.

"Need I give you any farther assurance of my immovable resolution strictly to regard our treaty, and every moment to improve the friendship growing up between us? I hope not; I would willingly believe, you now know me sufficiently to place a confidence in what I say, without having any doubts

of being deceived; which you may depend upon you never shall by me: deceit is detestable in the heart of an honest man, and much too low a practice for the true soldier to stoop to.

"Give me leave to render you my thanks for your intelligence concerning the French from the Dekkan, and your readiness in offering me assistance, if I should have occasion. Should the French leave the Dekkan, and come into this country with such a number as to make the conjunction of our forces necessary, I then will do myself the honour to write to you on that business. In the mean time, if you would wish to preserve peace in your country, deliver up my enemies into my hands, and by that means they will be less able to oppose me if such a force should arrive. This will convince me of the sincerity of your offer. It is now in your power to settle everlasting peace in your country; and if you suffer the opportunity to slip, it may never offer again. You see that God, by whose power all human events are determined, has given me the victory over my enemies. He seeth the justness of my cause, and therefore fighteth for me. Hesitate then no longer about the things I have written to you, but openly fulfil the oath you made before God and your prophet, of making my enemies your own; and let us evermore become one people. Then we shall see peace and tranquillity will flourish; for our enemies, beholding us cemented in unity, will not venture to bring war into the country.

"Reflect on what I have written, and be assured, nothing is so much my desire, as to see peace and concord perfectly settled throughout the whole Kingdom; and to give you the strongest proofs of my sincerity, I have ordered the King's ships down to Calcutta, as I heard such a measure would be acceptable to you. What can I say more?"

The Nabob sent the following answer.

The Nabob to the Admiral, dated 14th of April, 1757.

"Your letters, at several times, I have received with the news of your health, which has given me great pleasure. The purport of them I have duly understood, and for your satisfaction, and in observance of the agreement between us, to look upon each other's enemies as your own, I have expelled Mr. Law, with all his adherents, from my country, and have given strict orders to all my Naibs and Foujedars, not to permit them to remain in any part of my dominions. I am ready, upon all occasions, to grant you my assistance. If the French ever enter the province with a great or small force, with a design of making war upon you, God and his prophets are between us, that whenever you write to me, I will be your

ally, and join you with all my force. Rest satisfied in this point, and be assured of my resolution to remain inviolably by the promises which I have made in my letters, and in the treaty concluded betwixt us. With regard to the French factories and merchandize, I must acquaint your Excellency, that I have been informed, the French Company are indebted to the natives, and have several lacks belonging to my subjects in their hands; should I comply with your demands in delivering up the effects, how can I answer it to the creditors of the French. Your Excellency is my well-wisher and my friend; weigh all this affair, and return me your answer, that I may act accordingly.

"I have written before, and now repeat, that if the English Company want to establish their trade, do not write me what is not conformable to our agreement, by the instigation of self-interested and designing men, who want to break the peace between us. If you are not disposed to come to a rupture with me, you have my agreement under my hand and seal; when you write, look upon that, and write accordingly.

"Mr. Watts will inform you fully of all particulars: What shall I write more?

"If you desire to maintain the peace, write nothing contrary to the treaty."

This letter, and daily instances of the Nabob's perfidious and hostile intentions, engaged the Admiral to address the Nabob more plainly, in a letter dated April 19, 1757.

"I am honoured with your letter of the 14th of this month, acquainting me with your having received, at several times, the letters I lately wrote you. Your forbearance, and not writing to me, hath not the appearance of that friendship; you would persuade me you have for my countrymen; and with regard to myself, I must take the liberty to say, I was more particularly intitled to a speedy answer to my letters, from my high rank and station; and I cannot help looking upon your neglect in this respect, but as a slight offered to the King, my master, who sent me into India to protect his subjects, and demand justice wheresoever they were oppressed.

"I observe in your letter the following particulars, viz. 'that for my satisfaction, and according to our mutual agreement to look upon each other's enemies as our own, you have expelled Monsieur Law, and his adherents, from your dominions, and given strict orders, &c.' My brother, Mr. Watts, who is entrusted with all the Company's concerns, always writes me the particulars of your intended favours towards us; but I have never found that what he writes is put in execution, neither do I find that what you wrote me in your letter, dated the 22d of March, is yet complied with. You therein

assured me, that you would fulfil all the articles you had agreed to, by the 15th of that moon. Have you ever yet complied with them all? No. How then can I place any confidence in what you write, when your actions are not correspondent with your promises? Or how can I reconcile your telling me in so sacred a manner, you will be my ally, and assist me with your forces against the French, when you have given a Purwannah to Mr. Law and his people, to go towards Patna, in order to escape me, and tell me it is for my satisfaction, and in observance of the mutual agreement, you have taken this measure? Is this an act of friendship? Or is it in this manner I am to understand you will assist me? Or am I to draw a conclusion from what you write, or from what you do? You are too wise not to know, when a man tells you one thing, and does the direct contrary, which you ought to believe. Why then do you endeavour to persuade me you will be my friend, when at the same time you give my enemies your protection, furnish them with ammunition, and suffer them to go out of your dominions with three pieces of cannon? Their effects I esteem a trifling circumstance, and as far as they will contribute to do justice to your people, who are creditors to the French Company, I have no objection to your seizing them for their use, for money is what I despise, and accumulating riches to myself is what I did not come here for.

“But I have already told you, and now repeat it again, that while a Frenchman remains in this kingdom, I will never cease pursuing him; but if they will deliver themselves up, they shall find me merciful: and I am confident those who have already fallen into my hands, will do me the justice to say, they have been treated with a much greater generosity than is usual by the general custom of war.

“If you will reflect upon the oath you have taken, you cannot but join with me in what follows:—As soon as Cossimbazar is properly garrisoned, to which place our troops will speedily begin their march, I desire you will grant a dastuck for the passage of two thousand of our soldiers by land to Patna. You may be assured they will do no violence, nor commit the least injury to the natives; the only design of sending them is to seize the French, and restore tranquillity and perfect peace in your kingdom, which can never be truly established in these dominions, while a war continues between us and them. If you are apprehensive of any injury arising to your subjects from the march of our troops to Patna, send some of your trusty hircarras to go with them, with orders to acquaint you, from time to time, with their transactions; and I dare answer you will find their reports agreeable to what I now write you.

“Instead of sending Mr. Watts only ten guns, why did you not deliver up all that belonged to the Company? I will not

write you what is not conformable to our agreement, and which you suppose was by the instigation of self-interested and designing men : I must take the liberty to say, I never yet have written a syllable contrary to our agreement, and the oath and promise I have made ; and be assured it is not in the power of any artful or designing men to make me write any thing inconsistent with my honour. I ask nothing more than your fulfilling the articles of your agreement, and abiding by the oath you have taken ; this I have strongly urged you to do, because you have been very slow in the execution, and this surely I have a right to demand, so long as you neglect to perform it. If it is disagreeable to you to hear these things, put it out of my power ever to ask again, by your immediate compliance : and as you have desired me, when I write, to look upon your agreement, and take that for my guide, let me request you to compare my letters with my agreements, and with what you have promised ; and when you find me differ from that, or ask any thing contrary to it, then tax me therewith ; point out to me expressly, wherein I have deviated from this rule, and you shall find me ready to confess it as an error ; but till then you must excuse me from insisting on your having charged me wrongfully, and which, upon an examination of my letters, I make no doubt will appear to you too plain to be contradicted.

“ Let me again repeat to you, I have no other views than that of peace. The gathering together of riches is what I despise ; and I call on God, who sees and knows the spring of all our actions, and to whom you and I must one day answer, to witness to the truth of what I now write ; therefore, if you would have me believe that you wish peace as much as I do, no longer let it be the subject of our correspondence for me to ask for the fulfilment of the treaty, and you to promise and not perform it ; but immediately fulfil all your engagement : thus let peace flourish, and spread throughout all your country, and make your people happy in the re-establishment of their trade, which has suffered by a ruinous and destructive war. What can I say more ? ”

After this letter the correspondence ceased on the part of the Admiral ; and from the date thereof, to the month of June, the Nabob continued to give full proof that it was his design to embrace the first convenient opportunity of extirpating us. Hostile preparations were now made on each side ; and on the 13th of June, things drew near to a crisis, when the Nabob sent the following and his last letter to the Admiral.

The Nabob's last Letter to the Admiral.

25th of Ramazan (13th of June) 1757:

“ According to my promises, and the agreement made between us, I have duly rendered every thing to Mr. Watts ex-

cept a very small remainder, and had almost settled Manickchund's affairs : notwithstanding all this, Mr. Watts, and the rest of the council of the factory at Cossimbazar, under pretence of going to take the air in their gardens, fled away in the night. This is an evident mark of deceit, and of an intention to break the treaty ; I am convinced it could not have happened without your knowledge, nor without your advice. I all along expected something of this kind, and for that reason I would not recall my forces from Plassey, expecting some treachery.

" I praise God, that the breach of the treaty has not been on my part : God and his prophet have been witnesses to the contrast made between us, and whoever first deviates from it, will bring upon themselves the punishment due to their actions."

These letters are taken from a publication on India Affairs by Mr. Ives, who was with Admiral Watson at the time ; to whom the reader is also indebted for the following information, extracted from that gentleman's writing.

OF THE MEASURES FOR DEPOSING SERAJE AD DOWLAH—THE BATTLE OF PLASSEY AND THE ADVANCEMENT OF MEER JAFFIER TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL.

Seraje ad Dowlah, after his taking Calcutta, had behaved with such insolence and cruelty towards his own subjects, that several considerable persons of his court entered into a confederacy to depose him. He had displayed the severity of his temper in so many instances, as to strike an universal terror ; and from the fickleness of his disposition, none near him, and in his power, could think himself safe. Meer Jaffier Ali Khan, a man of great power and influence (and who had married the sister of Seraje's predecessor grandfather, Allyrde Khan) conducted the design of depriving the Nabob of that power he so greatly abused ; he was seconded in it by Roy-bullub, general of horse, and by Juggut Sett, banker to the Nabob, and esteemed the richest merchant in all India. These three leading men soon communicated their designs to Mr. Watts, the English resident at the Durbar, or Nabob's court, and he to Colonel Clive and the Secret Committee at Calcutta. The chiefs there did not hesitate long about coming into the scheme. Great dexterity, as well as secrecy, being necessary in executing the plan for a revolution, the whole management thereof was left to Colonel Clive and to Mr. Watts. To avoid suspicion, it was necessary that Mr. Watts should not

be observed to have frequent intercourse with Jaffier; he therefore entrusted one Omichund, a Hindoo merchant, with the secret, and through him carried on his correspondence with Meer Jaffier. Omichund was a man of deep cunning and insatiable avarice; and after the plot was so far advanced, that a treaty was just on signing with Meer Jaffier, Omichund demanded a quarter part of all the Nabob's treasure, which was supposed to amount to 64 crores, or 80 millions sterling. His final terms were 30 lacks of rupees for himself, by a special article in the treaty; and he made no scruple to assure Mr. Watts, that if his demand was not complied with, he would instantly inform the Nabob of our schemes, when every Englishman within his reach would certainly be put to the severest death. In this dilemma, Mr. Watts applied to Meer Jaffier, who was determined not to accede to such terms, if any means of obviating them could be devised. Mr. Watts then wrote to the Select Committee, who seeing the fate of all depended upon temporizing with Omichund, and being at the same time unwilling to submit to his terms, contrived that two treaties should be sent up to Meer Jaffier, who was to be let into the secret. One treaty, the real one, to be abided by; the other fictitious, but with no other difference than that it contained the 30 lacks for Omichund. The real treaty was executed privately with Meer Jaffier; the fictitious treaty was executed also by him in the presence of Omichund, who was thereupon perfectly satisfied. It may be necessary here also to observe, that this fictitious treaty was signed by Colonel Clive and all the Select Committee; Admiral Watson did not chuse to sign it, because he had signed the real treaty. A strict principle of delicacy, which with him was superior to any point of policy, operated too strongly on his mind to permit him to join even in a deception of this nature: however, while he manifested no displeasure against the actors, all classes of people, from their knowledge of Omichund's avarice and treachery, applauded the artifice by which he was outwitted.

On the 12th of June advice was received from Meer Jaffier and the other confederates, that all was in readiness with them: the die was cast, and on the 13th of June the whole army marched forwards; and the Colonel wrote to the Subah, the very day of his march to the following purport: That from his great reputation for justice, and faithful observance of his word, he had been induced to make peace with him, and to pass over the loss of many crores of rupees, sustained by the English in the capture of Calcutta; and to rest content with whatever he in his justice and generosity should restore to them: that his Excellency had not thought fit to set any value on

the friendship of the English, but had in every thing discouraged as much as possible the Company's business, by turning their Vakeel disgracefully from his presence, and refusing free passage to the English through his country, intercepting their trade, and searching their factory at Cossimbazar, for ammunition and warlike stores, on pretence of their intending an attempt on his life, at the time of profound peace; threatening them with war if they did not submit to the search. That these were but trifles, however, compared to his open and avowed protection of the King's enemies, of which his letters to Mons. Bussy, wrote but a few days after his entering into a solemn treaty with us, inviting him to his country, was a flagrant proof: that his protection, and allowance of ten thousand rupees per month, to Mons. Law, and many other circumstances, were not only so many deviations from the treaty, but evidently shewed his Excellency's intention to fall upon the English, as soon as the absence of their troops and fleet might expose them to it: that the main article of the treaty was infringed, in his proffering only a fifth part of the sum paid into the treasury for the plunder of Calcutta, and yet demanding a discharge for the whole. The Colonel complained bitterly of so many insults put upon him, and reminded the Soubahdar how different his own conduct was, when called upon to assist him against the Pattans.

He solemnly declared, that his intentions were, to have fought to the last drop of his blood; but, seeing his Excellency had chosen his friends from among his enemies, and had in every respect deviated from his engagements, he had determined, with the approbation of all who were charged with the Company's affairs, to proceed immediately to Cossimbazar, and submit their disputes to the arbitration of Meer Jaffier, Roybullub, Juggut Sett, and others of his great men; that if it should be found that he, the Colonel, had deviated from the treaty, he then swore to give up all farther claims; but that, if it appeared his Excellency had broken it, he should demand satisfaction for all the losses sustained by the English, and all the charges of their army and navy; and concluded with telling him, "That the rains being near, and as it would require many days to receive an answer, he had found it necessary to wait upon him immediately."

Our army consisted of seven hundred and fifty military (including one hundred topasses,) about one hundred and fifty of the train (including fifty sailors, with seven midshipmen, under the command of Lieutenant Hayter,) two thousand one hundred seapoys, (in all three thousand one hundred men) eight pieces of cannon, six pounders, and one howitzer. The Europeans and artillery were embarked in boats, and the seapoys

marched on to the northward through Hoogly. The Bridge-water also sailed up the river as far as Hoogly, to keep that place in awe, and to preserve a communication between the Colonel and the squadron. The Admiral's first Lieutenant, Mr. John Clarke, with a detachment of one hundred and fifty seamen, garrisoned Chandernagore, and the ships effectually secured Calcutta from any kind of insult, while a few troops were appointed to guard the French prisoners.

These previous measures being taken, the army marched towards Moorshudabad. On the 14th of June, Mr. Watts and other gentlemen, with thirty soldiers who had made their escape from Cossimbazar, arrived at the army; and on the 18th Major Coote (lately promoted from the rank of Captain) was sent forward with a detachment of two hundred Europeans, five hundred seapoys, one field-piece, and a howitzer, to reduce Cutwa, a fort belonging to the Nabob, situated on the bank of Cossimbazar river, about half a mile in circumference. As he was reconnoitring the place, one of the soldiers of the party suddenly grew delirious; and while in the agonies of death made so great noise, as to discover to the enemy where they were; on which they began a brisk firing, and obliged the Major, for the present, to alter his position; but he presently afterwards made a lodgement on a large bastion; and the next day, after some opposition, the enemy abandoned the fort, and left fourteen pieces of cannon of different calibres, and a large quantity of grain and ammunition.

When the army was within two days' march of Moorshudabad, Colonel Clive received some disagreeable advices from Meer Jaffer, which he immediately laid before a council of war, summoned upon the occasion, the majority of whose members were of the Colonel's opinion, that he ought not to advance any farther: he therefore halted where he was, and sent an express to Calcutta, desiring fresh orders. However, the same evening Colonel Clive received a second message from Meer Jaffer, assuring him of his due performance of the articles mentioned in the treaty, but informing him that he was so surrounded with spies, as to be obliged to act with the greatest caution. This intelligence soon determined the Colonel to push on; and that very night, without waiting for any instructions from Calcutta, he gave orders for the army to hold themselves in readiness to march the next morning: when, leaving a subaltern officer with all the sick at Cutwa, he broke up his camp, and marched towards the enemy, through water almost to the soldiers' middles, the rainy season being now set in. At six o'clock in the morning the army crossed a river, and marched about two miles farther, to a grove, where they halted till evening; about four the next

morning, the whole army reached Plassey-grove, after a very fatiguing march, and through a whole night's rain. Advice having been brought to the Colonel, on his arrival at the grove, that the Nabob's vanguard, consisting of six thousand men, was within three miles of our army, he ordered an advance guard of two hundred Europeans, and three hundred seapoys, with two pieces of cannon, to post themselves at Plassey-house; and several guards of seapoys, at proper distances from each other, round the grove.

At day-break of the 23d, the Nabob's army was perceived marching out of their lines towards the grove, which we were in possession of: their intention seemed to be to surround us. The Colonel hereupon formed his army; the Europeans he filed off in four divisions; the first he put under the command of Major Kilpatrick; the second under Major Grant; the third under Major Coote; and the fourth under Captain Gaupp: the seapoys were formed on the right and left. Plassey-grove is surrounded by a bank; our army's left flank was covered by Plassey-house, and the river and the right flank by the grove.

The enemy's army kept marching towards ours in deep columns, supported by a large train of artillery, consisting of fifty-three pieces of cannon, chiefly of eighteen, twenty-four, and thirty-two pounders. Their manœuvres, upon this occasion, differed materially from those they had been accustomed to; for, instead of posting their artillery all together, as was their usual practice, they disposed them between the divisions of their troops, and had not above two or three pieces of cannon on a spot; so that an attack upon any one part of their artillery could not have been decisive. In this order they continued marching as far as the river would permit; but as soon as their rear was out of the camp, failing in their plan to surround us, they halted; and a body of about fifty French, advancing in front of a large detachment of their army, commanded by Meer Muddun, one of their principal generals, with four pieces of cannon, lodged themselves within the banks of a tank (or pond of water) distant from us about six hundred yards, and began a brisk cannonade.

Our little army was at first drawn up without the bank which surrounded the grove, but soon found such a shower of balls pouring upon them from the enemy's cannon, that the Colonel thought proper they should retire under cover of the bank, leaving two field-pieces without, while the others were kept playing through the breaches in the bank. Our left wing was still covered by Plassey-house, which was about fifty yards distant, and close to the river-side.

In this situation both armies remained till about twelve o'clock, when a heavy shower of rain falling, the enemy's

horse advanced, as if it to take advantage of it; but when they found that our field-pieces continued firing, notwithstanding the rain, their ardour was checked. The rain ceasing, the cannonading continued till about three in the afternoon, when they retired without confusion to their old camp, their artillery marching first. And now a large corps on the left of our troops was seen moving, in such a manner as to make it doubtful whether their aim was to possess themselves of the village to the left, against us, or whether they were friends, and wanted to join our army, but they proved afterwards to be friends under Meer Jaffier's command; however, as no signal had been agreed on (owing to the miscarriage of a messenger, which he had dispatched to the Colonel in the morning) they were kept at a distance by our field-pieces. After this retreat of the enemy, Colonel Clive, leaving orders with Major Kilpatrick to send him notice if the Nabob should make any new motions, went into Plassey-house to put on dry cloaths, and consider whether, notwithstanding the fatigue which his troops had already undergone, he should attack the Nabob's camp, or defer it till night.

During this interval, information was brought to the Colonel, that a detachment of our army, with some field-pieces, was marching towards the before-mentioned tank and eminence, at about the distance of six hundred yards, which had been possessed by the French, but who abandoned it when the army of Seraje ad Dowlah retired to their camp. Colonel Clive expressed his surprize that such a step should have been taken without his orders, and immediately hastened after the detachment, which he reached nearly at the same time it arrived at the tank. He now found that this detachment was commanded by Major Kilpatrick; whom he at first ordered under arrest, but was pacified by the Major's making him an apology.

The Colonel then ordered Major Kilpatrick back to the grove, and took the command of the detachment himself, resolving, since such a step had been taken, not to make any retreat, but rather to bring on a second action, and make it decisive. He therefore ordered a reinforcement from the main body in the grove; upon which Major Coote, with his detachment, joined the Colonel. The Colonel then sent the King's grenadiers, and a grenadier company of seapoys, to lodge themselves behind a bank that was close upon the enemy's lines; from whence they kept a continual fire with their small arms, as did the detachment at the tank, with four pieces of cannon.

In the mean time the enemy's infantry and cavalry pushed out towards our several little bodies of troops, and endeavoured

to bring their heavy artillery to bear; but they met with so warm a reception, and lost so many draught-oxen and drivers, that they failed in their attempt. When the infantry and cavalry had faced our troops for some time, and stood a very smart cannonading, in which they lost a great number of men and horses, it was observed they were in some confusion, and that their elephants grew very unruly. The Colonel took immediate advantage of this critical moment, and sent orders to Major Coote to attack a large body of horse and foot upon a rising ground, at about the distance of 150 yards, and ordered another officer at the same time to storm the angle of the camp. Both these attempts succeeded; the enemy made but a faint resistance; Major Coote marched into their lines, and a general route ensued. The assailants pursued till it was dark, and then halted at Doudpore, a place about six miles distance from the field of battle, where they were joined by the rest of the army from Plassey-grove, under Major Kilpatrick, who, at the commencement of the route, received orders from the Colonel to march. The Nabob's army was computed to consist of twenty thousand horse, and forty thousand foot. Our loss was very inconsiderable; but he had about five hundred men killed, among whom was Meer Muddun, whose death was the occasion of the confusion just mentioned. Their fifty-three pieces of cannon, of eighteen, twenty-four, and thirty-two pounders, fell into our hands, with their camp, baggage and elephants.

While our army was pursuing, a large body of horse was observed on our right; after firing a few shot at them, a messenger arrived with a letter from Meer Jaffier to the Colonel, acquainting him, that the corps was under his command, and requesting an interview that night or the next morning. Accordingly the next day he had an interview with the Colonel; when, after congratulating him on his victory, he declared himself ready to perform the articles between them. The Colonel saluted him as Soubah of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, and advised him to advance immediately to Moorshudabad, after Seraje ad Dowlah, promising that he would follow to support him with his whole force. Seraje ad Dowlah reached his capital, which was twenty miles distant from the field of battle, a few hours after his defeat; and the next evening, not knowing whom to trust, or what to do, abandoning himself to his fears, he disguised himself in the habit of a Fakier, and, with one or two attendants, attempted to make his escape. Meer Jaffier immediately entered the palace, where all was anarchy and confusion; but presently Messrs. Watts and Walsh arrived from the Colonel, to pacify the inhabitants, and assure them of protection: and on the 27th

of June, Colonel Clive made his public entry into Moorshedabad. Meer Jaffier visited the Colonel the next day; and on the 29th Colonel Clive went to the palace, and in the presence of the Rajahs and grandees of the Court, he solemnly handed him to the Musnud, or carpet, and throne of state, where he was unanimously saluted Soubah, or Nabob, and received the submission of all present. The remaining part of the month was spent in settling many important matters, consequent to such an amazing revolution.

On the 26th of July the new Nabob sent presents, after the custom of the country, and of the East in general, to the Admiral, consisting of an elephant, two fine horses, a rich Hindoostanee dress of gold, with turbans and sashes; and a rose and plume composed of diamonds, rubies, sapphires, and emeralds. Admiral Pocock was also complimented with a present of the same kind. Admiral Watson received the Ambassadors, on this occasion, with marks of great respect; he made presents of fine cloth and velvet to each in return; dressed his ships, displaying as many flags, of different nations, as could be disposed of on the yards, masts, and rigging of the ships, saluted them with his cannon, and wrote the following congratulatory letter to the Nabob.

Admiral Charles Watson, Commander of the fleet belonging to the most puissant King of Great Britain, irresistible in battle, to the Nabob Shujah Al Moolk Hassan ad Dowlah Meer Mahomed Jaffier Ali Khan, Behadur, Mohabut Jung.

"Mirza Jaffier Beg, whom you have done me the honour to depute to me, has delivered me your letter, and other marks of friendship, with which you have been pleased to favour me. He has also satisfied my desire, in giving me an ample account of your health and prosperity. But what pleases me beyond expression, is, to hear that all men rejoice in them; and, while they acknowledge you are worthy of them, pray for their continuance. This is a satisfaction your predecessor never knew; and which, while it gives the most sublime pleasure to a mind generous like your's, promises happiness to yourself, and a quiet succession to your son.

"How much I and all my countrymen wish it, can only be known by the benefits you have conferred on us; the extent of which can alone be measured by your generosity, and our gratitude. May day by day make known the latter, to your content and our honour!"

The conduct of the servants of our East India Company becoming the subject of public enquiry, the information given

by Lord Clive, of what passed from the time of his going with Admiral Watson to retake Calcutta, to the placing Meer Jaffer in the government, is as follows.



Lord Clive's Account of the retaking of Calcutta, and of the terms agreed on for a Revolution, &c. given to the Committee of the House of Commons in 1772.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE.

The Right Honourable Lord Clive, being desired to relate what he knew of the transaction of the above period, said, That when he returned to England in 1755, the first time, the Court of Directors solicited him to go out again. They obtained for him his Majesty's commission of Lieutenant Colonel, and appointed him Deputy Governor of Fort St. David, and to succeed to the Government of Madras. But before he went to his government, they wished him to undertake an expedition of great importance, provided Colonel Scott (who had been strongly recommended by the Duke of Cumberland) did not chuse to undertake the expedition himself.—The intent of the expedition was, to join the Marhattas at Bombay, and, in conjunction with them, to attack the French in the Soubah of the Dekkan; for which he carried out three companies of the King's artillery, and three or four hundred of the King's troops. That when he arrived at Bombay, in the beginning of the year 1756, there was a truce between the two nations, and Colonel Scott was dead.—He found there Admiral Watson and Sir George Pocock, with his squadron.—It was thought advisable that these troops should not lie idle, and that there was a fair opportunity of taking Gheseah, a strong fort possessed by an Eastern Prince (Angria) and who, upon all occasions, very much distressed the Company. That he commanded the land troops on that expedition, and Mr. Watson commanded by sea. The enterprize succeeded, and the prize-money amounted to an hundred and fifty thousand pounds. That although he commanded the land forces, by virtue of his rank he shared only as a Captain of a man of war. Admiral Watson thought his case so hard, that he very generously offered to make his share equal to Sir George Pocock's. He thought himself as much obliged to him for the offer, as if he had accepted it, but he declined the offer. That after that, he went to his deputy government at Fort Saint David, about April 1756; that in August 1756 he was called from thence to Madras, on the news of the capture of Calcutta. It was long debated by the council what force should be sent to retake Calcutta, and who should command it. It

was decided in his favour, and the wish of every officer, that he should go upon that expedition. In the beginning of October the troops were ready, and there were received on board Admiral Watson's squadron, and other transports, about seven hundred Europeans belonging to the Company, and twelve hundred seapoys: there was likewise a detachment of two hundred and fifty of Abercron's regiment, to serve as marines. That they embarked about the 15th of October: and after they had been some time at sea, a council was held on board Admiral Watson's ship, to settle the distribution of prize-money, and it was proposed it should be settled upon the same plan it was at Ghereah. That he objected to it because he thought it bore too hard upon the military, and would not consent to a division of prize-money, upon any other division than of two equal parts, that one half should go to the military, and the other to the navy. This was agreed to; and they arrived at Balasore-road early in December: and it was agreed that the squadron should go up the river to Calcutta: and he looks upon that attempt to be as daring and meritorious an attempt as ever was made in his Majesty's sea service. That when the squadron came within a few miles of Calcutta, he desired Admiral Watson would give orders for landing the Company's troops; accordingly they were landed; and at the same time the ships went by water, the troops went by land. The garrison of Calcutta upon the approach of the ships, and of the land forces, abandoned the fort, after a few shot fired by the squadron, and a few returned by the fort. That when he entered the fort at the head of the Company's troops, Captain Coote presented him a commission from Admiral Watson, appointing him the Governor of the fort. That he denied any authority Admiral Watson had to appoint an inferior officer in the King's service Governor of the fort, and told Captain Coote, if he disobeyed his order he would put him under arrest. Captain Coote obeyed, and desired leave to acquaint Admiral Watson with these particulars: upon which Admiral Watson sent Captain Speke to him, to know by what authority he took upon himself the command of that fort; he answered, by the authority of his Majesty's commission as Lieutenant Colonel, and being commander in chief of the land forces. Captain Speke went on board with that message: he returned, and brought for answer, that if he did not abandon the fort, he should be fired out. In answer, he said he could not answer for the consequences, but that he would not abandon the fort; upon which Captain Latham was sent; and when the matter was talked over coolly, it was soon settled, for he told Captain Speke and Captain Latham repeatedly, that if Admi-

ral Watson would come and command himself, he had no manner of objection. That Admiral Watson did come on shore : he delivered the keys of the garrison into his hands, and he delivered them to the Governor and Council of Calcutta. His Lordship further said, That he was sent from Madras with a power independent of the Governor and Council of Calcutta ; he commanded in Bengal both as the King's and the Company's officer. The King's troops, when on shore, were under him : he was commander in chief of the Company's forces in Bengal, by a commission from the Governor and Council of Madras, on his setting out on that expedition. The Governor and Council of Madras looked on the government of Bengal as annihilated : they thought, if he had not the independent command, the Governor and Council of Bengal would retain the troops, which they thought necessary should return to Madras. He took the command as a military officer : the Governor and Council of Calcutta put their troops under his orders.

That when he came to examine into the state of the fort, he found it was not defensible ; it had no ditch ; the bastions did not deserve the name of bastions ; the fort was surrounded by houses, within forty yards of the walls, which commanded the fortifications. That he suggested to the Governor and Council the necessity of destroying them, and making a ditch round the fort, without delay. That he was convinced that a defensive war would prove destructive. He desired Admiral Watson would land the King's troops, to reinforce those of the Company. Great part of the forces that went out from Madras, upon this expedition, were not arrived. The Admiral landed the King's forces, amounting to two hundred and fifty men ; and those added to the Company's, might make seven hundred Europeans, and twelve hundred seapoys. That with these troops they took the field at about four miles from Calcutta, and encamped in a strong situation, and entrenched themselves, in expectation of Seraje ad Dowlah and his army, who were upon their march to Calcutta. Seraje ad Dowlah in a few days arrived ; passed within about half a mile of their camp, and encamped his army at the back of Calcutta. At the same time that he was marching to this ground, he made offers of treaty, and intimated to him by letters, that he wished to conclude a peace with the East India Company. He encamped, about six o'clock in the evening at the back of Calcutta. By this time, the terror of his march frightened away all the natives, and his Lordship saw, if something was not done, the squadron and land forces would soon be starved out of the country. That he sent Mr. Walsh and Mr. Scrafton to the Nabob, about seven that even-

ing; they returned about eleven, and assured him they thought the Nabob was not sincere in his intentions for peace, and that he meant treachery. That he went immediately on board Admiral Watson's ship, and represented to him the necessity of attacking the Nabob without delay; and desired, the assistance of four or five hundred sailors to carry the ammunition; which he assented to. The sailors were landed about one o'clock in the morning; about two the troops were under arms, and about four they marched to the attack of the Nabob's camp. It was his intentions to have seized his cannon, and attacked his headquarters; but when day-light appeared, there rose so thick a fog, that it was impossible for the army to see three yards before them, which continued till we had marched through the army. He cannot ascertain the loss the enemy suffered, but was reported very considerable: our loss amounted to about an hundred and fifty killed and wounded. That they continued their march to the fort, where the troops were allowed an hour to rest, and ordered back to camp. In the evening Seraje ad Dowlah and his army got to about eight or ten miles from them; he sent a letter to him and Admiral Watson, that he desired to treat with them; upon which it was agreed to receive his proposals without delay, and a treaty was concluded, which is upon the Company's records. The reason that it was not more advantageous than it was, was that they had just received advice of a war with France, and the French had within the garrison of Chandernagore almost as many Europeans as they had in the field; and if they had joined Seraje ad Dowlah before the conclusion of the peace, they must have been, undone for there wanted only some intelligent person to advise him not to fight at all, and they should have been ruined. While this treaty was carrying on, the French sent a deputation to propose a neutrality; it being long debated whether a neutrality should be accepted of. Seraje ad Dowlah forbad the English to attack the French, and declared, if they did, he would become their enemy. That he had no doubt but he would become their enemy the first opportunity that offered; and that he meant by their assistance to drive them out of Bengal. He supplied them with money publicly, and sent fifteen hundred men to be ready to give them their assistance. During this time, a reinforcement of troops was received from Bombay, and it was taken into consideration by the Committee, whether they should undertake the attack of Chandernagore, at the risk of displeasing the Nabob, and having his army to encounter. That the members of this Committee were Mr. Drake, himself, Major Kilpatrick, and Mr. Becher. Mr. Becher gave his opinion for a neutrality, Major Kilpatrick, for a neutrality, His Lordship

gave his opinion for the attack of the place ; Mr. Drake gave an opinion that no body could make any thing of. Major Kilpatrick then asked him, Whether he thought the forces and squadron could attack Chandernagore, and the Nabob's army at the same time ? He said, he thought they could, upon which Major Kilpatrick desired to withdraw his opinion, and to be of his Lordship's. They voted Mr. Drake's no opinion at all ; and Major Kilpatrick and he being the majority, a letter was written to Admiral Watson, desiring him to co-operate in the attack on Chandernagore. The land forces marched first and beset the place, made themselves masters of the outworks, and erected two batteries, one about an hundred and twenty yards from the walls, of six 32 pounders, and another of three 32 pounders, about an hundred and fifty yards from the walls. By this time the squadron came up the river. That they surmounted difficulties, which he believed no other ships could have done ; and it is impossible for him to do the officers of the squadron justice upon that occasion. The place surrendered to them, and it was in a great measure taken by them ; but his Lordship does believe that the place would have taken by the army, if the squadron had not come up : it must have fallen into their hands, but not so soon. And he must say, that he thinks, if the land forces and seapoys could have been landed in Calcutta, every event which has happened, would have happened without the assistance of the fleet. That after Chandernagore was resolved to be attacked, he repeatedly said to the Committee, as well as to others, that they could not stop there, but must go further : that having established themselves by force, and not by consent of the Nabob, he would endeavour by force to drive them out again. That they had numberless proofs of his intention ; and his Lordship said, he did suggest to Admiral Watson and Sir George Pocock, as well as to the Committee, the necessity of a revolution. Mr. Watson and the gentlemen of the Committee agreed upon the necessity of it ; and the management of that revolution was, with consent of the Committee, left to Mr. Watts and him. Mr. Watts was resident at Moorshudabad : he corresponded with him in cypher, and his Lordship sent the intelligence to the Governor and Committee ; and Mr. Watson was always consulted, but declined being a member of that Committee. Great dissatisfaction arising among Seraje ad Dowlah's troops, a favourable opportunity offered, and Meer Jaffier was pitched upon to be the person to place in the room of Seraje ad Dowlah. In consequence of which a treaty was formed, which, amongst others, consisted of the following articles : That one million two hundred thousand pounds should be given to the Company ; six hundred thou-

and pounds to the European sufferers; six hundred thousand pounds to the Navy and Army; about two hundred and fifty thousand to the natives of the country; and about one hundred thousand to the Armenians. When this was settled, his Lordship remembers that Mr. Becher suggested to the Committee, that he thought that Committee, who managed the great machine of government, was entitled to some consideration, as well as the Navy and Army. In consequence of which, Mr. Watts was wrote to upon the subject; but what that consideration was, he never knew till after the battle of Plassey; and when he was informed of it by Mr. Watts, he thought it too much, and proposed that the Council should have a share in it: the sums received were, he believed, as Mr. Becher had stated. Upon this being known, Mr. Watson applied, that he was entitled to a share in that money. He agreed in opinion with the gentlemen, when this application was made, that Mr. Watson was not one of the Committee; but at the same time did justice to his services, and proposed to the gentlemen, to contribute as much as would make his share equal to the Governor's and his own. About three or four consented to it, but the rest would not. His Lordship observed, that at that time there were no covenants existing; the Company's servants were at liberty to receive presents; they always had received presents; and his idea of presents is as follows: When presents are received as the price of services to the nation, to the Company, and to that Prince who bestowed those presents; when they are not exacted from him by compulsion; when he is in a state of independence, and can do with his money what he pleases; and when they are not received to the disadvantage of the Company; he holds presents so received not dishonourable. But when they are received from a dependent Prince; when they are received for no services whatever; and when they are received not voluntarily, he holds the receipt of such presents dishonourable. He never made the least secret of the presents he had received, he acquainted the Court of Directors with it; and they, who are his masters, and were the only persons who had a right to object to his receiving those presents, approved of it.

Every thing being agreed on between Meer Jaffier and the Secret Committee, we marched the army to meet the Nabob whom we entirely defeated. His death followed soon after, and Meer Jaffier was, in a few days, in possession of the government, and of a revenue of three millions and a half sterling per annum. The one-half of the Secret Committee being then present at the capital, and a report made by the Nabob's ministers of the state of the treasury, it was settled, that half the sum stipulated by treaty should be paid in three months;

and the other half in three years, all conditionally, that we support him in the government. The Nabob then, agreeable to the known and usual custom of Eastern Princes, made presents, both to those of his own court, and such of the English, who by their rank and abilities had been instrumental in the happy success of so hazardous an enterprise, suitable to the rank and dignity of a great Prince.—I was one amongst the many who benefited by his favour. I never sought to conceal it; but declared publicly in my letters to the Secret Committee of the Indian Directors, that the Nabob's generosity had made my fortune easy, and that the Company's welfare was now my only motive for staying in India. The Company had acquired a million and a half sterling, and a revenue of near an hundred thousand pounds per annum, from the success of their forces under my command, when ample restoration had been made to those whose fortunes suffered by the calamity of Calcutta. It is well known to every gentleman in Bengal, that the honour of my country, and the interest of the Company, were the principles that governed all my actions; and that, had I only taken the advantageous opportunities that presented themselves, by my being Commander-in-Chief, and at the head of a victorious army; and what by the custom of that country I was entitled to, the jaghire itself, great as it is, would have been an object scarce worth my consideration!

The city of Moorsbudabad is as extensive, populous, and rich, as the city of London, with this difference, that there are individuals in the first, possessing infinitely greater property than any in the last city; these, as well as other men of property, made me the greatest offers (which nevertheless are usual upon such occasions, and what they expected would have been required) and had I accepted these offers, I might have been in possession of millions; which the present Court of Directors could not have dispossessed me of; but, preferring the reputation of the English nation, the interest of the Nabob, and the advantage of the Company, to all pecuniary considerations, I refused all offers that were made me, not only then, but to the last hour of my continuance in the Company's service in Bengal.

Lord Clive's Account of the fictitious Treaty with Omichund, for his assistance in bringing about the Revolution in favour of Meer Jaffer.

Lord Clive informed the Committee, that when Mr. Watts had nearly accomplished the means of carrying that revolution into execution, he acquainted him by letter, that a fresh difficulty had started; that Omichund had insisted upon three

percent. on all the Nabob's treasures, and thirty lacks in money, and threatened, if he did not comply with that demand, he would immediately acquaint Seraje ad Dowlah with what was going on, and Mr. Watts should be put to death.—That when he received this advice, he thought art and policy warrantable in defeating the purposes of such a villain, and that his Lordship himself formed the plan of the fictitious treaty; to which the Committee consented: it was sent to Admiral Watson, who objected to the signing of it; but, to the best of his remembrance, gave the gentleman who carried it (Mr. Lushington) leave to sign his name upon it;—That his Lordship never made any secret of it; he thinks it warrantable in such a case, and would do it again a hundred times; he had no interested motive in doing it, and did it with a design of disappointing the expectations of a rapacious man;—That Omichund was employed only as an agent to Mr. Watts, as having most knowledge of Seraje ad Dowlah's court, and had commission to deal with three or four more of the court; and did not believe that Omichund was personally known to Meer Jaffier but through Mr. Watts.

When the army marched, Meer Jaffier had promised that he and his son would join them with a large force at Cutwa:—when they arrived there, they saw no appearance of force to join them; but received letters from Meer Jaffier, informing him, that the Nabob had suspected his designs, and made him swear on the Koran, that he would not act against him; and therefore he could not give that promised assistance; but that when they met Seraje ad Dowlah in the field, he would then act: at the same time Omichund received two or three letters from the Nabob's camp, that the affair was discovered, and that Meer Jaffier and the Nabob were one:—that his Lordship was much puzzled, for he thought it extremely hazardous to pass a river which is only fordable in one place, march one hundred and fifty miles up the country, and risk a battle, when, if a defeat ensued, not one man would have returned to tell it. In this situation he called a council of war: and the question he put was, Whether they should cross the river and attack Seraje ad Dowlah with their own forces alone, or wait for further intelligence? Every member gave their opinion against the attack, till they had received further intelligence, except Captains Coote and Grant. His Lordship observed, this was the only council of war that ever he held, and, if he had abided by that council, it would have been the ruin of the East India Company. After about twenty-four hours mature consideration, his Lordship said; he took upon himself to break through the opinion of the council, and ordered the army to cross the river; and what

he did upon that occasion; he did without receiving advice from any one.

Lord Clive further said, that Mr. Watts was two or three months employed in the negotiation of the revolution; and the correspondence was carried on entirely between himself and Mr. Watts; that he did not know exactly the amount of the treasure of Seraje ad Dowlah, but believed about three or four millions; that the final terms of the agreement between Meer Jaffer and Mr. Watts, were not agreed on still a few days before the march of the army; that Mr. Lushington was the person who signed Admiral Watson's by name his Lordship's order.

John Walsh, Esq; being here called by the Committee to give an account of what he knew of the 'fictitious treaty,' said, that he and Mr. Lushington went together to Calcutta with the treaty, with a letter from Colonel Clive; and that his idea had always been, that Amiral Watson refused to sign the fictitious treaty, but permitted Mr. Lushington to do it for him: that the fictitious treaty was wrote on red paper; and he remembered Omichund was very earnest in his inquiry after that particular paper, after the Nabob was put upon the Musnud.

Lord Olive further acquainted the Committee that all the letters in cypher which passed between Mr. Watts and himself, are not entered in the country correspondence or any where else; that he had got some of the letters; but did not know whether he had the letter wherein mention is made of Omichund's demand of five per cent on the treasures, and thirty lacks, that the fictitious treaty, to the best of his remembrance, stated thirty lacks, and five per cent. upon the treasures; it might be fifty lacks for aught he knows. That he believes the letter relating to the donation to the Army and Navy, is entered or mentioned in one of his letters;—he did not recollect what he paid to the heirs of Admiral Watson; that he wrote to the Secret Committee in England, stating the donations to the Navy and Army, but not the donations to the Committee.—He wrote a private letter to Mr. Paine, then Chairman, in which he mentioned the donations to the Committee; that he mentioned in his general letter that the Nabob's bounty had made his fortune easy;—he knew of no stipulation by Mr. Watts, for fifty lacks, or any other sum, besides the donation to the Army and Navy and Select Committee; if there was any such sum, it was without his consent or knowledge.

In regard to the fate of Seraje ad Dowlah, his Lordship said, he had been informed that he fled, and took shelter in a faouquier's house, whose nose and ears he had cut off upon a former occasion: that there was a brother of Meer Jaffer's

at Rajmehal (a small distance from the place where he took refuge) that this facquier sent immediately notice to him, that he had Seraje-ad Dowlah in his house, and he should keep him till he could seize him; that the Nabob's brother immediately set out with a few attendants, and seized him and that he was brought from thence to the city, and immediately put to death by Meerun, Meer Jaffier's son; it is said without the father's knowledge; that his Lordship knew nothing of it till the next day, when the Nabob made him acquainted with it, and apologised for his conduct, by saying that he had raised a mutiny among his troops; and this was all his Lordship knew of the matter.

Lord Clive farther said, in regard to the fictitious treaty that he did not recollect whether Mr. Lushington brought it back with Mr. Watson's name to it; to the best of his remembrance, Mr. Lushington told him, that Admiral Watson gave him leave to sign his name to the fictitious treaty:—he did not recollect whether Mr. Watson's seal was put to it; but believes that Mr. Watson's name and a seal were put to both the treaties before they were dispatched to Mr. Watts; he is not certain whether Mr. Lushington signed in his presence at Calcutta, or the French gardens. Roybullub did not receive five per cent. on all the money paid, but on some of it particularly, not on that which was paid to the army and navy.—Roybullub was one of the Nabob's generals.

His Lordship being asked, what might be the particular value, in money or jewels, received by him and such other gentlemen as he may recollect? said, He received about sixteen lacks of rupees clear, after deducting commission and all other articles; that he received no jewels, but all in money; that he believed Mr. Watts might receive altogether about eight lacks; Mr. Walsh about five; there were three or four more but could not recollect the sums, that he thinks Mr. Scrafton had two lacks; but is not certain. These donations were given exclusive of the sums stipulated for the gentlemen of the Committee, Council, Army, and Navy.—That the share he received as commander in chief, amounted to about two lacks; Major Kilpatrick, he believed, had about three or four lacks, exclusive of the sums stipulated for the Army and Committee; Mr. Lushington had something very trifling; about fifty thousand rupees; Captain Grant had one lack.

His Lordship also said, that these presents were not paid down at the time, but by instalments; and his Lordship being asked by what instalments the presents, above those stipulated for the Army, Navy, Council, and Committee, were paid? he said, That he knew of no agreement, but they were paid half down, and half in about fifteen months, to the best

of his remembrance.—And being further questioned; Whether, when the first half was paid down his Lordship had any expectation of the remainder? he said, He had, from the intelligence of Mr. Watts, who acquainted him that the present for his share would amount to twenty lacks, but he received only sixteen; that lands the amount of seven hundred thousand pounds a year were mortgaged, for payment of the remainder of money stipulated by treaty; the mortgage, he believed, was made about December 1757, or the January following; that Sir George Pocock applied to the Governor and Council, by letter, to desire that they would advance to the Navy their remaining half of the fifty lacks given to the Navy and Army, desiring that the Governor and Council would make such a deduction as they thought reasonable for the risk of advancing the money;—that some sharp letters passed upon the occasion; and to the best of his remembrance, he was the only person of that Council who objected to that request being complied with; and then, after it had been complied with, he made the same request in favour of the Army, and not before;—that the money deducted, to the best of his remembrance, was five lacks, the remaining twenty lacks was paid down by the Company for the Navy and Army.

Lord Clive went on to relate, that on the 22d of June 1757, in the evening, the Army crossed the river, and marched all night, amidst incessant rains, until they reached Plassey-grove; and early in the morning the army of Suraje ad Dowlah attacked them in that situation. The battle being attended with so little bloodshed, arose from two causes: First, The army was sheltered by so high a bank that the heavy artillery of the enemy could not possibly do them much mischief. The other was, that Suraje ad Dowlah had not confidence in his army, nor his army any confidence in him, and therefore they did not do their duty.—His Lordship said, that after the army was routed, Suraje ad Dowlah, for the sake of expedition, fled to the city upon an elephant, which he reached that night, thirty miles from the field of battle.—That the troops pursued the routed army about nine miles, to a place called Doudpore; and in the evening Meer Jaffer sent him word, that he and many more of the great officers, and a very considerable part of the army, were in expectation of his orders.—That he sent Messrs. Watts and Scrafton to wait upon him; and he came to him the next morning, accompanied by his son, made many apologies to him for the non-performance of his agreement to join them, and said, his fate was in his hand. That he assured Meer Jaffer that the English would most religiously perform their treaty, and advised him to pursue Suraje ad Dowlah without delay, and he would follow

with the English army; that when Seraje ad Dowlah arrived at the city, his palace was full of treasure; but with all that treasure he could not purchase the confidence of his army; he was employed in lavishing considerable sums among his troops, to engage them to another battle; about twelve at night the fatal news was brought him of Meer Jaffier's arrival at the city, closely followed by the English army; he then in despair gave up all for lost, and made his escape out of one of the palace-windows, with only two or three attendants, that the English Army having encamped within about six miles of Moorshudabad, his Lordship sent Messrs. Watts and Walsh to congratulate Meer Jaffier upon his success, and to know the time when he should enter the city; in consequence of which, the day was fixed upon, and he entered the city with two hundred Europeans, and five hundred seapoys;—that the inhabitants, who were spectators upon that occasion, must have amounted to some hundred thousands; and if they had any inclination to have destroyed the Europeans, they might have done it with sticks and stones. On that day, continued his Lordship, being under no kind of restraint, but that of my own conscience, I might have become too rich a subject; but I had fixed upon that period to accomplish all my views whatever, and from that period to this hour, which is a space of fifteen years, I have not benefited myself, directly or indirectly, the value of one shilling, jaghire excepted. I have been placed in great and eminent stations, surrounded with temptations; the civil and military power were united in me; a circumstance which has never happened to any other man before that time, or since: the Committee will therefore judge, whether I have been moderate or immoderate in the pursuit of riches:

Lord Clive went on to relate, that a few days after his arrival at the city, Meer Jaffier was placed on the Musnud, and proclaimed Nabob of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, and a day was fixed upon to consider the state of the Nabob's treasures, and to see how far he would comply with the treaty immediately: and after that state was known this matter was left to be decided by the Setts, two men of immense wealth, and great influence; and it was agreed that half should be paid down, and the other half in three years;—that at this meeting was Omichund, and when the real treaty came to be read, the indignation and resentment expressed in that man's countenance, beats all description. He said, "This cannot be the treaty, it was a red treaty that I saw." That his Lordship replied, "Yes, Omichund, but this is a white treaty."—That this important business being accomplished, he returned to Calcutta with the army.

The great authority of Allyverde Khan's government had so long established itself in the minds of his subjects, and all that

authority being vested in the person of Seraje ad Dowlah, that a revolution so sudden and unexpected, filled every one with terror and astonishment, which was kept up by the march of a considerable detachment under the command of Captain Coote, in pursuit of Mons. Laws, who marched from Patna at the head of an hundred Frenchmen, the only remains of that nation in all the three provinces, to the assistance of the late Soubah, and were within a few hours march of him when he was taken prisoner; but they returned on Captain Coote's approach, who followed them till they had passed the boundaries of the Soubah's dominions. The Nabob of Patna was one Ramnarain, a Hindoo faithfully attached to his late master, who, supposing Meer Jaffier would not confirm him in his government, was meditating a junction with the Soubah of Oude, the son of the late Vizier, whose territories border on those of Patna. There was such evident proof of this, that Colonel Clive advised Meer Jaffier to displace him, which was approved, accepted, and the order sent.

But before this memorable resolution is done with, a few particulars as to the manner of Seraje ad Dowlah's death, which came to light some months after, may be added.

Seraje ad Dowlah was taken on the 3d of July, after having wandered about, from the time he had made his escape from his palace, forsaken and almost naked, and was brought back to his capital in the night. Meer Jaffier immediately held a council of his most intimate friends about the disposal of him; all agreed it would be dangerous to grant his life, and that he should immediately be put to death, lest the English Commander's clemency should plead for his preservation. Seraje ad Dowlah received the dreadful sentence trembling; he wept bitterly, and pleaded hard for life on any terms; but when he found all entreaty in vain, he desired only a delay of a few moments to wash and say his prayers. His merciless executioners flung a pot of water over him, and dispatched him with their swords.—He shewed no mercy, and he had no mercy. He possessed the unjustly-acquired dominions of his grandfather fifteen months and a few days; and it was in the twenty-fifth year of his age when he fell under the unrelenting order given to his destroyers.

THE HISTORY OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE PRESENT CHURCH OF ST. JOHN, IN CALCUTTA, WITH SOME NOTICE RESPECTING THE OLD CHURCH, THE OLD CALCUTTA CHARTER, AND THE FREE SCHOOL.

About twenty years after the restoration of Charles the Second, we find in that reign of wit, gaiety, and licentiousness, the name of Streynsham Masters highly conspicuous among the worshippers of the true religion of Jesus.—In British India may the name of Streynsham Masters be immortal? Dean Prideaux who dates his account of the East-India settlements of the English, (Jan. 23, 1694-5) says—"There is not so much as a chapel in any of the English settlements for the true religion, except at Fort Saint George, only, where lately a church has been erected for the use of the English factory, by the piety and care of Mr. Masters, then President, without any aid or countenance from the Company in order thereto. In other places the room they eat in contains their congregation."

Streynsham Masters entered on the Government of the Presidency of Fort Saint George on the 6th day of February 1678; he was succeeded on the 13th day of July, 1681, by Mr. Gifford: during the short period of a Government of little more than three years, Mr. Masters strenuously endeavoured to instill a sense and remembrance of the true religion in the rising settlement committed to his charge. At the time we write of, the Company's servants chiefly were mere adventurers, led to India by the desire of lucre and the hopes of a speedy and prosperous return to England. When a community consists of a fleeting body, that will not regularly colonize, little regard is paid to the important concerns of religion.

The Dutch East-India Company at the same period spent ten thousand pounds annually in the propagation of the true Christian Faith. Able missionaries were sent to their various settlements, and a university was established at Ceylon: to perfect their grand design, the Scriptures were translated into the Malavese and other oriental languages.

The English Factory at Calcutta was established by Mr. Charnock in the year 1689-90, and the fortifications of old

Fort William were raised in 1696-7; but when the pious example of Mr. Masters was followed in Bengal, cannot now, perhaps, be ascertained with precision.* In the course of twenty years two unfortunate circumstances occurred to destroy the records of Calcutta, the only source from whence we could hope to derive true information. If any public papers were saved from the dreadful desolations of convulsed nature in 1737, they were, with the succeeding records, spoiled by the unsparing hand of devastation and Mahomedan barbarity at the capture of Calcutta in the year 1756.

I think it highly probable that the English might have founded the Old Church about, or before, the year 1715, at which period the settlement had been established twenty-five years: admitting this supposition, the Armenians, an industrious mercantile people, soon followed the sacred example set by the English. The Armenian Church of St. Nazareth was founded by Aga Nazar, an opulent Armenian, in the year 1724.

Although we cannot ascertain the precise date, yet we may with confidence affirm, that the English Church of Old Calcutta was erected long before the year 1723.† The following extract is from the *Gentleman's Magazine*, printed in London in 1738 9.

"In the night between the 11th and 12th of October (1757) there happened a furious hurricane at the mouth of the Ganges, which reached sixty leagues up the river. There was at the same time a violent earthquake, which threw down a great many houses along the river side; in Calcutta (i. e. Cal-

* There was a Christian Temple erected at Agra about the year 1600 by the great and enriched Emperor Akbar, a monarch of no fixed religion, but one who favoured Christianity: his descendant Shah Jehan destroyed this monument of his good father's munificence.

† Extract from the *Travels of Captain Alexander Hamilton*, who spent his time trading in various parts of the East Indies from the year 1688 to 1723, published in 1727.

"About fifty yards from Fort William stands the Church built by the pious Charity of Merchants residing there; and the Christian benevolence of sea-faring men, whose affairs called them to trade here; but Ministers of the Gospel being subject to Martials, very often young merchants are obliged to officiate and have a salary of 500 per annum added to what the Company allow them for their pains in reading Prayers and in Sacraments, &c. &c. &c."

"In Calcutta all religions are tolerated, but the Christians and those that they brow-beat. The Pagans carry their idols in procession through the Town. The Roman Catholics have their Church to lodge their Images in, and the Mahomedans are not discontented; but they are no Polemicks except what are between our Good Churchmen and our law, or between the Government's Party and other People Merchants in Points of Trade."

vatta) alone, a port belonging to the English, two hundred houses were thrown down, and the high and magnificent steeple of the English Church sunk into the ground without breaking. It is computed that 20,000 ships, barks, sloops, boats, canoes, &c. have been cast away. Of nine English ships, then in the Ganges, eight were lost, and most of the crews drowned. Barks of sixty tons were blown two leagues up into land over the tops of high trees; of four Dutch ships in the river three were lost with their men and cargoes; 300,000 souls are said to have perished. The water rose forty feet higher than usual in the Ganges."

The curious and observant Mr. Holwell could, doubtless, have given us a particular account of the foundation of the sacred structure injured so materially by this dreadful calamity, for he arrived in Calcutta so early as the year 1731-2: as the eyes of this honourable man were lately sealed in the chamber of death, we perhaps might seek in vain among the living survivors of Old Calcutta for this desirable information. The Old Church of Calcutta was demolished during the troubles of 1756 by the army of Seraje ad Dowlah. It lay contiguous to the Old Fort, at the west end, where the Writers' Buildings now stand.

The victory of Plassey, gained by Colonel Clive in June 1757, laid the foundation of New Calcutta and of New Fort William. Decisive as this battle was, yet it could not be expected to produce immediately that serene tranquillity among the re-instated English, which would have been absolutely necessary to dispose them to repair (were it practicable) the dismantled walls that lately surrounded their sacred altar, or lead them to reflect seriously on a plan for the erection of another temple to the Almighty. Four years of succeeding, but partial, troubles left little time to the inhabitants of Calcutta for the solemn purposes of public devotion: but the 56th year (1762) is characterized as the year of tranquillity in India.

We must here revert to the origin of an institution intimately connected with these ecclesiastical notions, as the grand pillar of its present support arose from the ruins of the Old Church.

On the completion of St. John's Church, the first general Vestry met on the 8th day of May 1787; Earl Cornwallis presided: from a scrutiny then made, it appeared that such proceedings of former vestries as had been preserved since of the capture, were irrecoverably lost, owing to the negligence of the trustees to whom Mr. Larkins, the Church-warden, consigned them; when sickness compelled him to go to Bombay in 1783. The untimely death of his successor, Mr. Varnitart,

In October 1786, overturned all hopes of leading to any traces of their discovery, nor were any proceedings found that had taken place during his Wardenship. This was the third time unforeseen and unfortunate circumstances occasioned the loss of the records, in consequence of which the present Vestry determined to elect two Church-wardens with a succession, and to lodge all public papers in future in the archives of the New Church.

The late Mr. Secretary Hay, when officiating as Church-warden, used every possible endeavour to ascertain the origin of the old Calcutta Charity Fund: on application to Mr. Charles Weston, who had resided many years in Bengal,* and acted formerly as Vestry Clerk, Mr. Hay received the answer entered on the proceedings of the Select Vestry, May the 22d, 1787, of which the following is an extract:

"May the 12th, 1787.—I have received your favour of the 11th instant. The old court house, (called the town hall) was formerly a lower-roomed house, and I always heard it belonged to the Charity; the first foundation whereof I believe, was by subscription, and its support also. The Charity boys were lodged and educated there, and the whole annual expence of twenty children, I believe, did not exceed rupees 2400, about forty or forty-five years ago, I mean current or arcot rupees, as the siccas were not current till after the year 1757, when the English gained the battle of Plassey. The upper works of the said house were also built by subscription, I believe, in 1765 or '66. When Lord Clive was Governor, one Omichund, a very rich merchant, gave 20 or 30,000 rupees for this purpose; as I have heard.

* Mr. Charles Weston, the son of the Recorder of the Mayor's Court, was born in Calcutta in 1731, in a House then opposite to where the Directors' Bazar now stands. He recollects the great storm and inundation of 1737, as it compelled his family to quit their House. The steep pile of the Church he states to have fallen prostrate, a more probable position to have fell in than that stated in the Gentleman's Magazine. The houses of the Europeans in Calcutta at that time were surrounded with spacious gardens, in which they stood central. This gentleman was the friend and associate of Mr. Holwell, and carried arms as a militia man at the Old Fort in 1756. He is the founder of his own opulence—surely, Fortune never bestowed wealth better than on Charles Weston—a striking and existing example that chaste and religious sentiments are not confined to complexion or climate. This truly honourable man resided at Chinsurah amid a group of dissipated people, soothed and supported by his bounty. Those who had seen better days on whom Fortune has ceased to smile had been comforted by Charles Weston. One hundred Gold Mohurs a month were regularly distributed to the indigent from a box placed on his table; nor was there any stream to deduct of it; every one all came from his own valuable hand.

"The rent of the old Court House Church collections, and interest on the fund in the hands of the Hon. Company have maintained twenty boys and enabled the charity to bestow some trifling donations.

"In 1773 -4- 5 I paid to the church-warden 6 or 7000 current rupees, as executor to the estate of Lawrence Constantius, deceased, who had left the reversion of his estate to the poor and other charitable purposes.

"The bulk of the charity fund now in the hands of the Honorable Company, I believe originated from the restitution-money received for pulling down the English Church by the Moors at the capture of Calcutta in 1756."

We learn principally from this letter, and partly from other documents, that the aggregate fund of the old Calcutta Charity arose from the following sources.

1st.—The original subscription made before, or about the year 1732.

2d.—Church collections.

3d.—The restitution money for the demolition of the old Church, made by the Nabob-Maer Jaffer Ally Khan. The amount is unascertained.

4th.—The donation of Omichund by himself, on his Almoner after his demise. He died in Calcutta in 1768. The amount and particulars are unascertained.

5th.—Seven thousand current rupees (or less) paid in the year 1773-4 by Mr. Charles Weston, as executor to the estate of Lawrence Constantius, an opulent Portuguese, deceased.

To the above must be added 800 rupees per month, paid by the Company to the fund, as rent for the Mayor's or Town Hall, afterwards called the Old Court House. How this became the property of the old Calcutta Charity Fund is now unknown: when the question was put to the Select Vestry by the Company's Attorney in the year 1792, they replied, "We apprehend the uninterrupted possession of the said premises for above forty years is the best title that can be produced for the said property."*

The famous Omichund is supposed to have contributed largely to this charity, as Mr. Weston states to have heard from general report. Mr. Hay, on a reference to Mr. William Chambers, an highly respectable Orientalist, on the subject of

*In 1792 the property of the Old Court House was conveyed to Government, who still allow, for it the monthly rent of 800 Sicca Rupees in consideration of the object to which it is appropriated. The building in the same year was razed to the ground. Mr. Orme speaking of it in the year 1756 terms it "a very spacious house of one floor in which the Mayor's Court and Amices used to be held."

Omichund's donation, received two letters which were entered on the proceedings of the Vestry. I subjoin extracts from them both.

"May the 11th, 1787.—The will of Omichund is in the Mahajun's Nagree, a character known to very few of the natives here, and with which I am totally unacquainted. Mr. William Johnson applied for a copy of it some times ago, and could find only one man who was able to copy it. The dialect is I suppose, that of Punjab, which is analogous to common Hindoostanee, I should find probably difficult to translate. It is true, indeed, that when I was here on a visit in 1774, I chanced to get acquainted with one of Omichund's family, and at his desire I made a translation of the Will, as read to me by him, and from his explanations; but I have great doubts of its accuracy. I have since, however, seen it produced on some occasion in court, and I suspect that Mr. William Johnson, or Mr. Wroughton, must know where it is. It might possibly answer your purpose—If not, some of the more eminent Mahajuns may perhaps supply you with a man that can read the character, point out the part you want, and explain it for the purposes of translation."

Mr. Chambers's second letter, dated the 30th of May 1787, is as follows:

"I have had the Nagree Moonshee with me, who has made several copies of Omichund's will for different persons, and, after putting the will into his hand and making him examine it afresh, have questioned him respecting the subject on which you wish to be satisfied, and he declares that there is not a word in it about the Old Court House, or indeed about any of his houses in particular, but says, that the body of the will consists of detail of legacies in money bequeathed to different persons, at the end of which he gives the remainder of his fortune (whatever it may be) to Gooroo Gobind (*i. e.*—his tutelary Saint) to be bestowed for charitable uses in the way of his religion, appointing Huzobree Mull his executor and almoner in that matter. The man has also read several parts of it to me, which seem to confirm this account, and I have some faint remembrance of its contents at the time I translated it, which corresponds with his report of it."

As a discretionary power was given to the executor and almoner, respecting the portion of Omichund's fortune surplus to the specified legacies, he, perhaps, was the direct donor to the old Calcutta Charity Fund. Mr. Weston states, "that he heard 20 or 30,000 Rupees were given by Omichund, when Lord Clive was Governor, &c." Omichund is stated to have died in 1763 and Lord Clive did not arrive in India until the third day of May 1765. This induces me to

believe Huzoore Mull made the donation in the name of the deceased.

As the restitution money given by the Nabob Meer Jaffer Ally Khan constituted the bulk of the old Calcutta Charity Fund, I have noticed it here, although it led to digression and the anticipation of other circumstances.

When Calcutta began to enjoy repose from the troubles occasioned by Cossim Ally Khan, the erection of a new church became an object of general desire; the Council often issued directions for delineating a plan for one: the church of St. Stephen, Walbrook, in London, was always proposed as the model; this small church is considered by Connoisseurs as one of the most finished compositions of that consummate architect, Sir Christopher Wren. As this model was determined on, one draught of St. Stephens was executed by Colonel Polier, and another by Colonel Fortnam. In the mean time a temporary place of devotion was erected within the walls of the battered garrison, and denominated "The Chapel of the Old Fort."

It is remarkable that the erection of an edifice so desirable as a temple of worship would have been delayed even for five years, especially in such a capital as Calcutta, which after the reinstatement of the English was gradually ascending the pinnacle of splendour; yet, let the cause be what it will, it was not until the year 1782, under the auspices of the princely and munificent Hastings, that the Inhabitants of Calcutta seriously determined to erect an edifice for the celebration of public worship, suitable to the exercise of the ministerial functions, and to such a numerous auditory as might be expected in the capital of our Indian Empire.

On the eighteenth day of December, 1783, the new church committee first met, which was attended by Governor Hastings and his Council. As the sum of thirty-five thousand nine hundred and fifty rupees had been subscribed already, the committee determined to commence the building.

Every circumstance conspired to favour the event. The Maha Rajah Nobkissen presented, in addition to the old Burying Ground, six biggahs and ten cottahs of the adjoining land, as the Durkhaust specifies, in Mowzah Dhee Calcutta.* This was the spot on which the Old Magazine stood, and which, with the old Burying Ground, was once the cemetery of St. John's.

In Jan. 1784, Lieut James Agg, of the Engineer Corps, a professional architect, offered his services to the committee;

* The ground given by Rajah Nobkissen was then valued at above 30,000 Rupees.

they were accepted, and that gentleman was chosen to superintend the building of the proposed structure.

The first stone of the New Church was laid on Tuesday, the sixth day of April 1784, on the morning of which Mr. Wheler, Acting President, gave a public breakfast at the Old Court House, whence he proceeded, attended by the great officers of state, and the principal inhabitants of Calcutta, to the ground upon which the sacred edifice was to be erected; the first stone was laid by Mr. Wheler with the usual ceremonies. A prayer was read on the occasion by the Rev Mr. Johnson, senior chaplain. On a plate of copper, graven in the stone, is the following inscription:

The first stone of this Sacred Building,
Raised by the liberal and voluntary
Subscription of British Subjects
and Others,
Was laid under the auspices of
The Honourable Warren Hastings, Esq;
Governor General of India,
On the 6th day of April 1784,
And in the 18th year of his Government.

Posterity will be astonished to learn that Mr. Shepherd charged 232 current rupees (25 pounds) for engraving the copper plate. The elegant arts at this era had made only slow progress in Bengal, but from henceforward they advanced with unusual rapidity: the present year was distinguished by the institution of a Literary Society, which still continues to delight and instruct mankind,

As soon as the first stone of the Church was laid, all descriptions of people co-operated in forwarding the progress of the building. Gentlemen, whose local situations enabled them as agents to superintend and speedily procure materials, acquiesced with every requisition made to them by the Church Committee, and rendered their services with alacrity. The most remarkable letter I find recorded on this occasion is that from Mr. Charles Grant then residing at Malda, which, as it contains some observations respecting the ruins of the ancient and renowned city of Gour, I will make such quotations from, as may be acceptable to the speculative traveller and historian.

“Malda, June 9th, 1784.—I imagine a number of stones sufficient for the pavement of the New Church may be collected from the ruins of Gour. The stones are of various sizes, many from a foot to two feet long, seven inches to fifteen broad, and seldom less than six inches deep. They are of a blue colour; these I have occasionally viewed have appeared

to be hewn on three sides, but not polished. All the remains of Gour are unquestionably the property of Government, which we may dispose of them at pleasure, as was the custom of the Soubahdars.

"It may not be amiss to add, that besides these stones, which are used in the buildings of Gour, there are among the ruins a few huge masses, which appear to be of blue marble, and have a fine polish. The most remarkable of these covered the tombs of the kings of Gour, whence they were removed about fifteen years ago (1768-9) by a Major Adams, employed in surveying, who intended to send them to Calcutta, but not being able to weigh them into boats, they still remain on the banks of the river. Some time since I was desired to give my aid in procuring blocks of marble from Gour for a private use, but as I knew not how to comply, unless these masses which are real curiosities were broken in parts, I rather declined. The present occasion is, however, of a different nature. They are already removed from their original situations, and if any use can be made of them entire for the church, they would there be best preserved, as indeed they deserve to be. There are also some smaller stones, polished and ornamented with sculptures of flowers, fret-work, &c. and a few free stones of great length."

Mr. A. W. Davis, a gentleman who had made historical, and particularly ceiling and ornamental painting, his study, offered his services to the committee to decorate the church.

Mr. P. Hall, as a barrister, offered his services in drawing up the contracts with such people as the committee had occasion to employ. Mr. Wilkins superintended the moulding of stones prepared at Benares, and Capt. Caldwell dispatched the stones cut from the quarries at Chanar. Mr. Champion, of Bhanglepore, procured a gate for the inside plastering of the church; and the Hon. Court of Directors lent a slender aid, accompanied by their approbation of the plan, as appears by the following extract of their general letter, dated the 11th April 1785:

"Having considered your advices respecting the Church proposed to be built by public contributions in the town of Calcutta, and being desirous to encourage so laudable a design, we have resolved that the sum of 1200*l.* be presented by the Company towards the provision of communion plate, an organ, a clock, bells, and velvet, for the pulpit, desk, and communion table for the said church."

* This was first discovered by the Portuguese in May 1497, at which time, and even at the commencement of the reign of the Emperor Akbar in 1556, Gour was a flourishing City, as we learn Manuel Faria De Souza, who has written the History of Portuguese Asia in Spanish.

Earl Cornwallis, in December 1786, enriched the fund by a subscription from himself of 3000 sicca rupees.

At a committee held early in the year 1786, Major Metcalfe proposed in compliance with the wishes of the late Governor General Hastings, that the slab of Mr. Hamilton's monument should be placed in the centre niche of the entrance at the east end of the church, and that the inscription should be beautified by gilding the letters. To Mr. Wm. Hamilton, the Hon. English East-India Company are indebted for the Firman granted to them by the Emperor Mahommed Ferrokhaera; that patriotic physician preferred the interest of his employers to the smiles of imperial favour, and the consequent accumulation of an immense private fortune. Major Metcalfe's motion was unanimously agreed to, but why it was not carried into effect I am unable to discover. The tomb-stone is now to be seen unimpaired in the mausoleum of the Charnock family.

The church committee, in January 1787, solicited from the Government of Bengal, 35,000 rupees, which, upon a scrutiny, they found would be wanted, in addition to their present stock, to enable them to complete the building.

The Government shortly after this application directed sicca rupees, 7206-5-8 the produce of some confiscated goods belonging to Colonel Watson, to be paid to the committee: they were about the same time presented with sicca rupees 5688-9-4, the amount produce of the Company's state tent, which was burned: in May the Governor General in Council appropriated the sum of 1500 rupees towards the completion of the church. This in aggregate made the sum of sicca rupees 14,394-15.

The money paid to Lieut. Agg. only, since the commencement of the building to the 16th of April 1787, amounted to sicca rupees 69,946-15-1: the total expence to the same period was current rupees 1,24,182-12-10: by an estimation then made, it appeared current rupees 59,954-2-1 were yet requisite to finally and perfectly complete the church and spire. This makes a sum total of current rupees 1,84,836-14-11.

On the 24th of June 1787, the church was consecrated and dedicated to St. John. The Rev. Wm. Johnson and the Rev. Thos. Blanshard were chaplains; Earl Cornwallis attended with all the great officers of state: during the Anthem a collection was made for the benefit of the Charity School, amounting to sicca rupees 3943-3.

Sir John Zoffany bestowed on the church that admirable altar piece, representing "The Last Supper." It was proposed by the Rev. Mr. Johnson and Mr. Cydbert Thornhill, as Sir J. Zoffany was about leaving Calcutta to present him with a ring of 5000 rupees value in consideration of this signal exertion

of his eminent talents: the low state of their fund prevented every other member of the committee from supporting the motion of Messrs. Johnson and Thornhill, but they unanimously agreed in sending to Sir John Zoffany, an honorable written testimonial of the respect in which they held his great abilities as an artist. From their handsome and appropriate letter I select the following paragraph:

"We should do a violence to your delicacy, were we to express, or endeavour to express, in such terms as the occasion calls for, our sense of the favour you have conferred on the settlement by presenting to their place of worship so capital a painting that it would adorn the first church in Europe, and should excite in the breasts of its spectators those sentiments of virtue and piety so happily pourtrayed in the figures."

The Select Vestry of the 28th of June 1787, in stating the duty of the Church-wardens, entered on record the following preliminary remark: "that the gentlemen acting as Church-wardens, or under that name, do act as such from a necessity, that the duties of this office should be executed and in conformity to the long established customs of this settlement; for as Calcutta is not of itself a parish, though in a parish; and there are no legal powers to levy church rates in it, or to compel the performance of some of the functions properly belonging to the office of Church-wardens, the persons acting as Church-wardens in Calcutta cannot be considered by the law as properly described under that specification, but they must be considered to act with the consent of the inhabitants for whose advantage and good they perform the duty."

In September 1787, the Vestry received from England a chalice, two cups and two salvers, weighing in all 237 oz. 3 dwts. These articles were of silver gilt, instead of solid gold, as the committee formerly determined they should be of.

In January 1788, the walls of the Church-yard were repaired, the trees and shrubs cut down, the Old Magazine tank filled up, and drains made around the walls, which were at the same time repaired and considerably raised.

Thus, at the expense of nearly two lacks of rupees, obtained by the voluntary contributions of a liberal people, with some slender aid from their Honorable Masters, the neat temple of St. John was erected in Calcutta—now one of the most opulent cities in the world—a city of palaces, and the bank of nations?

At the period of collecting these notices the church had stood the public in nearly three lacks of rupees, as several improvements and embellishments have taken place since the year 1788.*

* I annex the following for the satisfaction of those who wish to be informed of particulars.

The Inhabitants of Calcutta are distinguished for a liberality which unquestionably cannot be paralleled among the nations of the universe; a sober retrospect of them in their collective body will exhibit this unshaken truth: I speak not only from study and long observation, but from personal experience. Ever studious to do good, their benign spirit did not now slumber, but actuated them to consider on what they could again perform for the benefit of mankind. Reflection pointed out to them the deficiency of a Public Charitable Institution in this great capital: * towards the close of the year 1789, it was determined to circulate proposals for the institution of a Free School, which immediately proved successful, and on the 21st day of December it was declared constituted.

I must now pause, and, however painful the duty, strip a single plume from the glory of the civilians of Calcutta. *They followed an example?* Contrary to what has occurred in civilized states of Europe, the example in Asia was set by the military body. In the year 1782, an institution was formed in Bengal for the protection, education and support of the Orphans of the Military, not only of Officers, but of Soldiers. By this most noble institution, numberless boys have been provided for, and a thousand tender females saved from temptation and profligateness. To complete the climax of the glory of the Bengal Military, he who suggested and supported the institution, and tenderly nursed it in its infancy, arose from among themselves. The name of this divine man is William Kirkpatrick, a name over which a ducal coronet, raised by the united monarch of the universe, can shed no supervenient lustre.

The plan of the Calcutta Free School Society instantly met the cordial approbation of the higher order of people in the capital, which was testified by the immediate subscription of Sicca Rupees 26,082, and the monthly contribution of Sicca Rupees 1067—Earl Cornwallis, then Governor General, presented to the society two thousand rupees and accepted the patronage of the institution.

Expended to the Church 15 and half lakh of bricks. There is in the Foundation of the Church 27,260 feet of solid masonry.

The Roof of the Church forms a square of 30 feet.

The superficial contents of the roof of the Church is 10,700 square feet.

The erection of the spire from the level of the roof cost 15,000 rupees. Most Aggravated was 15 per cent. on the whole expense. The Church acquired by Lottery 25,592 Current Rupees, which by the negotiation of paper became 280,886.8 Current Rupees.

* The reader perhaps will observe the Old Calcutta Charity was existing, but he must remember the fund of it was peculiar property allotted for the support of the fixed number of twenty boys, a very small portion of the helpless young objects in Calcutta.

As soon as the institution was formed by the subscribers, four honorary-governesses chosen from ladies of the highest rank in the capital of British India : six governors were next elected, in whom was vested the trust of the charity, conjointly with the two chaplains, two church-wardens, and two sidesmen, who composed the Select Vestry of Calcutta, and in whom, or their predecessors, heretofore rested the guardianship of the Old Calcutta Charity.

On the fortieth day of the institution the Free School Society had a fund of Sicca Rupees 28,849, and a monthly contribution of Sicca Rupees 1822.

Mr. Titting, the Governor of Chinsurah, in a letter addressed to the society, expressed his approbation of the institution with such a liberal spirit, that it would be injustice to pass it over in silence: The conclusion of a letter so honourable to him I transfer to these sketches for the perusal of posterity. "I ask permission, gentlemen, to partake of so beneficial a scheme and to become a subscriber to the fund for 1000 Rupees, which I beg leave to offer, together with my most ardent wishes that your humane endeavours may be crowned with all possible success, and that the prosperity of this Charity School increasing more and more under your enlightened influence, may in future be productive of deserving citizens; meritorious members of society, and subjects who will do honour to mankind, for which your memory will be ever blessed and revered by posterity." Such were the liberal sentiments and such the unsolicited bounty of this illustrious foreigner.

The Free School Society on its first institution associated itself with the Old Calcutta Charity, a name at this time dormant, as the two united institutions are now known under the general name of the Free School.

The Old Charity, on the 1st of Jan. 1790, had a net property of Current Rupees 2,45,897. The Free School in June 1790 had a fund of Current Rupees 58,062.

Old Calcutta Charity,	245,897
Free School Society,	58,062

Current Rupees 303,959.

Such was the immense property of the united charities in the middle of the year 1790.

The General School was finally settled at the garden-house near the Jaun Bazar in the year 1795, premises then stood the Society in Sicca Rupees 26,800: since that period Sicca Rupees 30,000 have been expended to adapt them to the purposes of the united institutions.

An Elucidatory Paper, containing some further account of what is stated in the preceding pages, regarding the Old and New Church of St. John, &c. &c.

I was at Calcutta very soon after it was re-taken by Admirals Watson and Pocock, and Colonel Clive. I then saw the ruins of the Old Church, situated, as Mr. Holwell has placed it, in a plan of Calcutta, in his account of the Revolution in Bengal. I think it was nearly in the north-west corner of the now-compound of the Writers' Buildings. Before the place was taken by Seraje ad Dowlah, I have understood it was the custom for the Governor to walk to the church, when the weather permitted his doing so. When that church was built, I have not had the means of ascertaining :—but I have frequently heard that it was constructed by the voluntary contributions and patriotic spirit of some gentlemen of the place, who had been prosperous ; but principally by the benevolence of Captains and Supercargoes, and of the persons concerned in sea trade, without any assistance from the Company. I have understood that some of the original contributors were of the society of Free-Masons, and that by their influence it was called St. John's Church. Information of the building was transmitted to the Society for Propagating the Gospel. That Society sent out an answer expressive of their approbation, and of the great satisfaction it derived from so pious and so meritorious a work. The Society also sent a silver cup, with an appropriate inscription, in testimony of the commemoration of it. Were it a matter of any importance, I conceive, by applying to the Secretary, the era of building the church might be ascertained from the records of that Society. It is remarkable that the cup was either saved or recovered, after the capture in 1756, and it remained with some plate belonging to the Company. The plate being very old fashioned in the time of Sir John Shore, the Governor General, orders were given to melt it down, and to make it into articles suited to the present taste.

This was perfectly right as to every thing but the cup, which could have no value but from the givers, and from its being a monument of a very pious and meritorious work, which deserved to be held in perpetual remembrance.

I saw Omichund in 1758. He was dead before I returned to Bengal in 1764. I suppose it was after Lord Clive's return to this country in 1765, that I heard of his benefaction. I have always understood it to have been 25,000 Rs. to go towards building a church. I have heard it frequently spoken of, as a thing well known, and I conceived the sum to have been paid into the treasury for that purpose many years ago. From the circumstances stated respecting Omichund's will,

I suppose Omichund bequeathed a large portion of his fortune to pious uses, and that Huzoorree Mull thought it would be disposing of 25,000 Rupees perfectly in consonance to the testator's intention to give that sum out of the deceased's fortune, towards building an English Church. They were both liberal-minded men.

As to the fund of the Charity, I believe I can give information of some particulars which may be depended on.

Mr. Bouchier, who was afterwards Governor of Bombay, was, some time prior to that, Master Attendant at this place. He was a merchant, who had been successful. At that time there was no Town-hall, nor any house for the Mayor and Alderman to hold their court. To remedy this very great inconvenience, Mr. Bouchier built the Old Court-house as it stood before the additions which were made to it in 1765, and on different occasions afterwards. He gave it to the Company, on condition that government should pay 4000 Arcot Rupees per annum, to support a Charity School, and for other benevolent purposes. Into that fund, as I have been informed, went also the sacramental collections, and fees for the palls, which I know to have been of three rates, 40, 25, and 12 Ar. Rs. the palls being kept at the expence of the Charity fund. In consideration of the great additions made to the Court-house, which were chiefly by the liberal spirit of the inhabitants of the town, government agreed to give 800 Rs. per month to the fund of Charity, for the school and other benevolent uses. And I have understood that when the ruinous state of the building made it necessary to pull it down, government, with a generosity of mind which must ever do great honour to those who were then members of it, agreed with the Church-wardens to pay that sum in perpetuity.

A TABLE OF THE CHAPLAINS OF CALCUTTA.

POSTERITY will be desirous to learn the names of those Divines to whose care the Ecclesiastical Concerns of Calcutta had been committed; to gratify them in this particular, I have arranged this paper, which I believe to be nearly correct. It contains a table of the succession of Chaplains from the conquest to the year 1800. In glancing over this list the old Indian will pause at the name of Yates, and, with eyes sparkling with approbation, exclaim, "That man would have added dignity to the crossier and the hallowed lawn!"

CHAPLAINS of the PRESIDENCY of CALCUTTA, AT AND SINCE THE CONQUEST.

1756.—REV. JERVAS BELLAMY, perished in the Black Hole on the 20th of June, 1756.

1756.—REV. MR. MAPLETOFT, appointed in December, 1749. Died during the mortality among the fugitives at Fatah after the capture of Calcutta.

1757.—*No Chaplain.*

1758.—REV. HENRY BUTLER, arrived in Calcutta in Jan. 1758, on his way to Bencoolen, to which presidency he had been appointed by the Court of Directors. He was detained at Calcutta by Governor DRAKE, where he died on the 13th November 1761.

1758.—REV. JOHN CAPE, died at Calcutta, December 27, 1761.

1760.—REV. S. STAVELEY, died at Calcutta, October 25, 1762.

Doubtful—REV. T. BLOMER, died at Calcutta, July 15, 1767.

1764.—REV. MR. PARRY, died at Calcutta, April 13, 1769.

1768.—REV. T. YATES, died at Calcutta, April 14, 1782;

REV. DR. J. BURN, returned to England in 1784 and died there in 1793, in the 93d year of his age.

1770.—REV. J. BAINE, came from Bencoolen, and officiated at Calcutta, from June to October, 1771.

1775.—REV. W. JOHNSON, Junior Chaplain to the Presidency on the translation of Mr. Yates of Fort William; Senior Chaplain in 1784, on the departure of Dr. Burn to Europe. Left Bengal for England in March 1788.

1774.—REV. T. BLANSHARD, appointed to Bengal in March 1774, Junior Chaplain in 1784, on the promotion of Mr. Johnson, Senior Chaplain in 1788; on the departure of Mr. Johnson for Europe, Mr. Blanshard on his return to England in 1797, was lost off the coast of France.

1783.—REV. J. OWEN, appointed to Bengal in April 1783, Senior Chaplain to the Presidency in 1788, on the promotion of Mr. Blanshard; returned to England in 1794.

1786.—REV. D. BROWN, appointed in 1786; Senior Chaplain in 1797, on the departure of Mr. Blanshard, Provost of the College of Fort William, August 18, 1800.

1787.—REV. P. LIMBRICK, appointed to Bengal in 1797, to the Presidency in 1797, Chaplain to the College of Fort William, August 1801.

1796.—REV. C. BUCHANAN, appointed to Bengal in 1796, to the Presidency in November 1, 1799, Vice Provost of the College of Fort William, August 18, 1800.

THE PROTESTANT MISSION TO CALCUTTA.

I NOW present the inquirer with some notices respecting the Mission to Calcutta, which comprehend anecdotes of the life of the Rev. John Zachariah Kiernander, so far as respect him in the character of the first Protestant Missionary sent to Bengal.

The Voluntary Society Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, instituted in England at the close of the year 1698, King William III. granted to it a Charter of Incorporation at the close of the year 1701.

This body consisted of the original members, with a few additional persons of distinction, whose attention rested solely on the welfare and prosperity of British America. A Society distinct from that corporation shortly after associated itself with the Voluntary Society in endeavouring to promote their meritorious intentions. The general body is now known by the name of "The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge."

In the year 1728, a Protestant Mission was sent to Fort St. George under the management of the Rev. Mr. Schultz, a Danish Missionary: in 1737 the Mission extended to Cuddalore, and in 1758 to Bengal, by the erection of a Mission and School in Calcutta.

John Zachariah Kiernander was born on the 21st of November 1717, at Åkstad, in Sweden, a place situated about four Swedish miles from the great city of Linköping, in the province of East Gothland. He received the first rudiments of scholastic learning at Gymnasium of Linköping, but completed his education at the University of Upsal.

In his 24th year he became desirous of visiting foreign Universities, and on obtaining recommendatory letters and a passport; by the influence of his friends in Stockholm, he took his passage through the Baltic to Stralsund and from thence to Halle in Saxony, where he arrived in the 17th of November 1735. He was favourably received at the University of Halle by Doctor Göthilf August Franke, who immediately appointed him Inspector of the Latin School, and afterwards favoured him with other Benefices. Kiernander spent four years under the patronage of Dr. Franke, when having satisfied his youthful curiosity, he began to think of returning to Sweden, but at this very crisis a circumstance occurred which took him from his native country, Sweden, for ever.

The Society instituted at London for Promoting Christian Knowledge wrote to Doctor Franke, requesting him to recommend to them a proper person to be sent out as a Missionary

to Cuddalore. Doctor Franke made the proposal to Kiernander, who, after some deliberation accepted the vocation; and on the 20th of November, 1739, he was ordained to the Ministry. Mr. Kiernander immediately set out for London, where he arrived on the 25th of December. He was lodged at Kensington by his Majesty's Chaplain the Rev. Mr. Ziegenhagen,* and on the 29th introduced by that gentleman to The Society, who received him with a public welcome.

Mr. Kiernander left England in the *Colchester* Indiaman on the 20th of April, 1740, and arrived at Cuddalore on the 28th of August, as colleague to the Rev. John Ernest Guenther, who was appointed to Madras in 1744, when the charge of Cuddalore devolved on Mr. Kiernander, who then had a congregation of 154 persons, viz. 99 Malabars and 55 Portuguese, with 20 children in the Malabarian School, and 28 in that of the Portuguese. Mr. Kiernander was treated with the most polite attention by Admiral Boscawen, and the Government of Fort St. David; that Government put him in possession of the Portuguese Roman Catholic Church at Cuddalore, and at the same time expelled all Popish priests from the Company's territories. On the 26th of November 1749, the day after the receipt of the Governor's order, the English, Tamulian and Portuguese congregation assembled to hear divine service and a sermon in the three different languages, when the church was solemnly dedicated, and called Christ Church. Such was the prosperous state of the Mission committed to the charge of Mr. Kiernander.

About this period Mr. Kiernander was married to Miss Wendela Fischer.

On the 4th of May 1758, Lieut. General Conant Lally took Cuddalore by capitulation; Kiernander waited on that impetuous General, who told him no Protestant Missionary was then required at Cuddalore, but that he would grant him a passport to go to Tranquebar; this was accepted, and on the 8th of May, Mr. Kiernander arrived at the Danish capital, stripped of all his property, excepting a few articles of apparel.

On the 2d of the following June, Fort St. David fell also by capitulation, to the arms of France, in consequence of which as no immediate prospect appeared of the restoration of the English to Cuddalore, Kiernander turned his eyes to Bengal, where the Battle of Plassey, on the preceding year, had laid the foundation of the grandeur of Calcutta.

On the 11th of September, Mr. Kiernander left Tranquebar, accommodated by the munificence of the Danes, the friends of

* The same Gentleman, who died in the year 1776, after being 35 years Chaplain to the Royal German Chapel at Saint James's.

the true Religion : on the 29th of the same month, he arrived in Calcutta, and declared his intentions to the Government of establishing a Mission there. Governor Clive, Mr. Watts, and the other gentlemen of Council approved of and sanctioned his propositions.

Mr. Kiernander, on the 4th of November, 1758, was blessed with a son : the reader may judge what a reception Mr. Kiernander had in Calcutta, when he is told Colonel Robert Clive, Mrs. Margaret Clive, Mr. William Watts, and Mrs. Frances Watts, stood sponsors for the child : the infant was named Robert William, in honour of his high sponsors.

Mr. Kiernander opened the Mission School at Calcutta on the 1st of Dec. 1758 : on the 31st Dec. of the following year, 175 children had been received by him, 37 of which natives he had provided for. Mr. Kiernander at this time occasionally preached at Serampore, where the Danes, then in their infant settlement, had no chaplain.

Mr. Kiernander was very graciously received in Calcutta, by the Rev. Henry Butler and the Rev. John Cape, chaplains at the settlement in the years 1759-9-60 and 61 ; they procured him large subscriptions for carrying on the pious work he was engaged in, and assisted him in his peculiar offices as a minister of the Gospel.

Mr. Kiernander, on the 9th of May, 1761, lost his Lady, but he had the fortitude not to give himself up to vain lamentations. On the succeeding year the remembrance of all former sorrows was obliterated in the sullen embraces of opulent beauty : the 10th day of February 1762, witnessed his union with Mrs. Anne Wolley.

In the year 1767, Mr. Kiernander was obliged to remove from the house lent by the Company for the use of his Church and School : he in consequence resolved to purchase ground and build a Church at his own expence ; in May this year, the 27th of his mission, he laid the foundation of the present Mission Church. About this period the Court of the Emperor Shah Allum requested from Mr. Kiernander some copies of the Psalter and New Testament in the Arabic language : he complied, and had the satisfaction to hear they were as well received by his Majesty's Mullahs, that he transmitted to Allahabad, where the Court then was held, all the Arabic Psalters and Testaments in his possession.

As Mr. Kiernander was advancing in years, he took two associates to assist him : they were Romish priests, who, on their arrival at Calcutta, made a public abjuration from the errors of Popery, the Rev. Mr. Bento De Silvestre and the Rev. Manuel Joze de Costa. These gentlemen drew on themselves the censure of the Councils of Goa, and a Romish priest

was sent from thence to Calcutta to excommunicate them, but his vain threats did not in the smallest degree affect the Protestant Mission at Calcutta.

The Mission Church would have been completed early in 1770, had not the progress been stopped by the death of the architect ;* the persevering Kiernander, by his own unremitting diligence, compensated in part for this misfortune : on the 23d of Dec. the sacred edifice was consecrated and named *Beth Tephillah*, which in the Hebrew language signifies *The House of Prayer*. The building cost the founder above 60,000 Sicca Rupees ; 1818 Rupees only of which sum had been presented in benefactions.

Thus, after a lapse of fourteen years, Calcutta once more beheld an English Church—completed at the expence of a stranger !

As a piece of architecture, *Beth Tephillah* cannot be compared to the Old Church of St. John, destroyed by the barbarians in 1756. One was founded by an individual—the other by the united charity of opulent merchants, in days when gold was plenty, labour cheap, and not one indigent European in all Calcutta !—Existing authorities testify the perfect composition of that temple, to which the Governor on every Sunday walked in solemn procession, attended by all the civil servants, and all the military off duty. We learn from a tradition handed down to us by the famous *Dady Russell*, that the steeple of St. John's was very lofty and uncommonly magnificent, and constituted the chief public ornament of the settlement before the calamity of 1737.

Mr. Kiernander, wishing to make the Mission Church as lasting as possible, constructed it of the best materials ; they who suppose that Captain Griffin largely contributed to the benefit of the Mission are misinformed ; I have seen the will and papers of Capt. Griffin, and can assert, that of the residuary legacy left to the Mission, not one cash ever was realized.

Mr. Kiernander lost his second lady in June 1773, after a continued sickness of six months. She left her jewels for the benefit of *Beth-Tephillah* ; with the amount produce Mr. Kiernander founded a Mission School on his own ground, in the rear of the Church, capable of holding 250 children. It was founded on the 7th of July 1773, and completed on the 14th of March 1774. About this period the Rev. Mr. Diemar arrived to assist the Mission.

In the year 1778, Mr. Kiernander began to experience the frailties and infirmities of age. His sight failed him, and in

* Mr. Martin Bontant de Mevill, a Danish Architect.

1782 he was obliged to submit to the painful operation of having his eyes couched; that operation succeeded so well that he was soon after able to write to the Society to congratulate them "on his happiness in once more being enabled to see the prosperity of the Mission."

"Lady Coote, when at Calcutta, attended and received the sacrament at the Mission Church." "This good example," says the Missionary, "is attended with a very happy influence, and gives great encouragement to the congregation."

In the year 1788, the Rev. Mr. Westrow Hulse, chaplain to the late Sir Eyre Coote, on his return to Europe made the Mission a present of 500 Sicca Rupees; Mr. Kiernander himself gave 1000 Rupees, and his son, Mr. Robert William Kiernander, gave 3000 Rupees, the yearly interest of which was to be applied to the support of the Mission. Mr. Diemar this season returned to Europe.

Here we must revert the scene and behold more unpleasing prospects. In the year 1786, a cloud of adversity was gathering over the hoary head of Kiernander! He foresaw the approaching calamity, and wrote to the Society in England, expressing a wish of going to London with his son, and earnestly soliciting them to send out another Missionary, "lest his congregation should be forsaken and his Church shut up!"

This venerable patriarch was now in the 76th year of his age and the 47th of his mission, an age, at which, in any climate the debilitated frame must feel severely the reverse of fortune; but how unspeakable severe must it be felt by one who, for a period equal to the ordinary life of man, had been used to the gentle ease of India! The hovering cloud burst in 1787, and the ruin of all his fortunes followed—the seal of the Sheriff of Calcutta was clapped even on *The Sanctuary of God Almighty!*

The Magistrate must obey the law of which he is only the first servant—doubtless, that officer, with a trembling hand closed the gates of Beth-Tephillah.

One person immediately stepped forward who restored the Church to religion. He paid for it the sum it was appraised at—*Ten Thousand Rupees*.—Yes one person stepped forward and saved the Temple, where the hymns of truth have been chaunted for seventeen years, for being weekly profaned by the hunk-drum-sing-song of an auctioneer!

The property of the Church School, and Burying Ground, was transferred on the last day of October 1787, to three trustees, the Rev. Mr. Brown, Mr. William Chambers, and the purchaser Mr. Charles Grant; thenceforward it ceased to be the property of an individual.

Since the transfer of the Church, the Society have not been fortunate in their selection of Missionaries and the duty for fifteen years has devolved chiefly on the Rev. Mr. Brown, who, with such other chaplains as have been attached to the Presidency, have rendered their voluntary services to the Mission.

That Mr. Kiernander at one period of his life became very suddenly opulent is notorious—that he as suddenly was reduced to indigence is equally notorious.

These circumstances at the time could not be accounted for, and must now remain a mystery which never will be expounded.

His zeal was great, and latterly he viewed things through the mists of age.

He had frailties in common with man, but let the memory of them perish.—You, who wish to plant rue at his tomb, ask that faithful monitor, your own heart, if you have lived better.

The Mission Church in 1793 was much enlarged, and Mr. Kiernander, on the 28th of December, was invited to open the new chancel when he administered the sacrament, and was extremely happy to see the Church so much improved, and so well attended.

Mr. Kiernander's attendance was communicated to the Society by Mr. Brown, who says, in his letter, "I cannot but lament his destitution in the 84th year of his age. In consequence of which, forty pounds were transmitted to Mr. Kiernander as a present from the Society."

Mr. Chambers did not live to see the new chancel opened; his virtues were rewarded in superior worlds. In this gentleman, whose character is beyond eulogium, the Mission lost a sincere friend and one of its brightest ornaments: to his industry we are indebted for a translation into Persian language of *Christ's Sermon on the Mount*. Mr. Kiernander after his misfortune retired to Moogly, and offered his services to the Dutch at Chinsurah, which were accepted: he was appointed Chaplain to that Settlement by the Honorable Mr. Tising, where his duty as a Chaplain was far less laborious than that of a Missionary, for which his great age now rendered him unfit, but Fortune had not yet desisted from frowning on Kiernander; on the 27th of July 1795, Chinsurah was captured, and the militant divine became a Dutch prisoner of war, and as such received Fifty Rupees a month from the English Government.

Richard Comyns Birch, the English Commissary, commiserating his age, and sympathizing with his misfortunes, permitted him to go to Calcutta to reside with his daughter-in-law and six grand children, but there calamity once more overtook him, rising from his chair too suddenly, he fell and broke his

high-bone on the 10th of April 1799, and on the 10th of the following May, it pleased the Almighty to summon him to the world of repose.

The Rev. John Zachariah Kiernander died in Calcutta, at the advanced age of Eighty-eight, after a residence in India nearly sixty years : his remains were entombed in the Sepulchre of his second lady, at the ground which still bears his name.

A good likeness of Mr. Kiernander, after he had passed his seventieth year is to be seen in the Vestry Room of the Mission Church : the painting was executed by the pencil of the late Mr. Caleb Garbrand. Mr. Kiernander to his expiring moment breathed the most pious wishes for the prosperity of the Mission : I present the reader with a copy of his letter to the Rev. W. Toby Ringeltaub, written to that gentleman shortly after his arrival in Calcutta, in the service of the Mission.

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,—I herewith return the Account of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge for the year 1796. Accept of my thanks for the perusal of it ; which now leads me to express my sense of Gratitude to God, for his gracious Providence, so clearly and most sublimely appearing in so many instances ; and which cannot but create in the mind of every reader who wishes to see the enlargement of the saving knowledge of Christ and of his Kingdom, a most hearty Joy and Gratitude.

Is it not by signal Divine Providence, that this noble Society has now subsisted a whole century, in which period much good has been done in many parts of the world ?

Is it not most remarkable, how, from time to time, such well disposed persons have been found, who have supplied the places of those who have departed, and how this Society have thus continued, increased, and in every respect been improved and blessed ?

Is it not most worthy of observation, how great and good the care of Divine Providence has been in providing, from time to time, the means whereby they have been enabled to do so much good ?

Must it not be a hearty rejoicing to every good man, to see how far they have extended their charitable design in so many and various branches of well doing ? How can we then be backward and silent with our Gratitude to God, from whom alone all good and every Blessing proceeds ?

I am astonished, when I see the great number of Charity Schools, and the very great number of Children that have already, and do yet enjoy a good Education, and who have thus been qualified for useful services to the Public, and from whence the Church of Christ has received many worthy Members, nay Heaven itself has received an increase

to its numbers : without which care and education, too many might probably have been left in ignorance and vice, and thus cast away and been lost.

And how most admirable and highly laudable are their charitable endeavours, in extending the same to distant parts of the world, to such where the light of the Gospel is extinguished, that they may, by these means, be enlightened, and find their way to Heaven.

And surely, if ever the light of the Gospel of Jesus the Redeemer and Saviour of mankind shall come to the Natives of this country, it must come from England ; for there is not a nation in all the world, as the state of the world now is, that has the means or the opportunity for such an undertaking : but for this excellent purpose, it seems the Lord has chosen England, and has therefore blessed them with wonderful and rapid increase of possessions in this country ; which half a century ago was not any more than hardly a little Territory or small Tract of Land, of about 4 or 5 Square English Miles, at each settlement of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, &c. Nor had they that time, when I arrived in this country, any thoughts of making conquests, which was in the year 1740. But Divine Providence alone has directed circumstances, and led them on to success, and has now enlarged their possessions to a most valuable Empire, nor doth this enlargement yet seem to stop in its extension. And when at the same time, we consider the removal of an emulating Nation who has been, and yet is, in opposition to the main design of propagating Christian Knowledge ; are these not instances, that may open our eyes, to see a wonderful and gracious Divine Providence, and that from the whole we may draw an equal conclusion, with that of David's in Psalm 105, 44, 45. " That the Lord has given them the lands of the Heathens, and they have inherited the Labour of the People ; (for this purpose, and this end, that they might observe his Statutes and keep his Laws. Not only themselves, but that it was also their duty, to bring the Natives of the Land to the knowledge of the Lord, and to the same duty of observing the Divine Statutes and keeping the Divine Laws. No Nation has as yet given greater proofs of their readiness to do this than what a part of the English Nation has already done. And I have not the least doubt, but that all who have open eyes to see, how much Divine Providence is yet acting in favour of England, particularly at this present period, and, in all parts of the world, will confess, that the above conclusion is justly drawn, and ought with a willing mind and united endeavours, cease to be executed.

And what great wonder would it be to see, perhaps sooner than we expect, that the whole English Nation unites in a General Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge to the Nations in the East Indies? And then, how could the Lord otherwise than greatly bless such good endeavour, united in the true spirit of Charity? This great work, so much desired, would then, by the Lord's Mercy and Blessing, most gloriously be effected, and would also give the firmest stability to the English possessions. Yes, I verily believe, there will be few individuals in England, who would exclude themselves from reaching out a helping Hand towards the forwarding of such a happy work.

But I will return to another subject, wherein I heartily rejoice, which is this, that I find the Society are resolved to continue their kind care of the Calcutta Mission. It is indeed lamentable that the difficulty of finding proper Labourers for sending out in this Vineyard, has for so long a time been distressing. I trust, however, that the Good Lord of the Vineyard will in his own proper time provide such, who are willing to bear the burden and heat of the day, and ready to take up the load on both shoulders: which I hope, you, my dear Brother, will never grudge to do. You will sufficiently be supported, when you put your Trust in the Lord: Your heavy burdens will be light and easy, by bearing them with patience; you will overcome difficulty by perseverance and firmly confiding in the Lord, who will not leave you alone nor desert you, for the work, to which you are called is the Lord's own work, and He is the Principal Labourer; you are only the Instrument which the Lord maketh use of, and both the work and the instrument are the Lord's; and that being the case, how can you fail of success, in that degree as the Lord is pleased to direct? Never let it slip out of your mind that you serve a good Master who is love itself, who amply rewards his faithful servants according to their almighty Helper in all need, wherein He is nearest present with them, when they least think it, and have no man to help them. The most sad period in my life was this, when after 47 years' service in the Mission, only 3 years less than half a century, I was by old age, fatigue, and other vexations, quite exhausted, and under the necessity of leaving my post; and no successor sent out, for the work in the Mission, neither any Hopes given of any one coming to release me, &c. &c. In that situation, you may easily imagine my anxiety of mind was great. But see how wonderfully and graciously Divine Providence interfered to my great comfort.

Three Friends were in readiness, surely by the divine appointment. The poor Mission-Church got kind and careful Patrons, *Brown, Chambers and Grant*; be their good works never for-

gotten ! I have it, and I have rejoiced, it has supported my depressed spirits. I do still now in my 87th year of age see it and cannot but rejoice. I had much to say on this subject ; but facts do better than I can, openly and loud. Since the Lord has hitherto been our helper, which you may clearly see, so you may take courage, and be confident that the Lord will continue to lend a helping hand, and will not leave you alone, nor forsake you ; but will bless you, and make you His Instrument for conveying His Blessings to many souls. My dear Brother you may in the beginning, as also in process of time, find difficulties ; for the world is yet the same, there are many who are professed Enemies to the Gospel of Christ, many who are cold and indifferent about it and some, who are Wolves in sheep's clothing, and such as I have it in experience ; are the very worst. But let not this cast you down ; against all such, you have sufficient comfort in the whole 37th Psalm. The Lord will be on your side, He can and will procure you true friends also. When and wherever the Lord may be pleased to open a Door for you, to work and to good, do it. Wait patiently for the Lord's opening that Door for doing that good which you may wish for ; do not go before him, but follow his leadings, and he will wisely and safely lead you on in the right way of doing much good. He knows best the proper time for every thing. He provides the means. He will give you strength and wisdom, He alone can and will bless your work. My heart is full and overflows, but my Hand is weak. I can add no more, but that I am yours very cordially.

J. Z. KERNANDER.

There are two charitable institutions in Calcutta, which owe their origin chiefly to the talents, perseverance, and industry of two individuals.—For the Military Orphan Institution we are indebted to the active zeal of Colonel Kirkpatrick, whose genius first planned, and whose talents afterwards were eminently displayed in effecting its formation and establishment both in India and England.—For the Native Hospital we are indebted to the humane suggestions and pious industry of the Reverend John Owen, Junior Chaplain of Fort William, an active pastor, who, when in Bengal, boldly wielded his pen and commented on those who presumed to infringe on the Rights of the Clergy.

I have already mentioned the Military Orphan Institution in two different places : it only remains for me to annex a few dates and a few general remarks to these records of charity. The Orphan Institution may date its existence from August 1782, at which Era proposals were circulated throughout the Bengal Army, which met with general approbation.

The Military Managers, through their natural Patron, General Sir Eyre Coote, on the 18th day of November, 1782, addressed the Government of Bengal in support of their plan. That Government acquiesced with all their wishes. The Managers, on receiving the sanction of the Supreme Government, addressed the Court of Directors in March 1783, and solicited their countenance in a cause to which none, but benevolents, could refuse assent.

Colonel Kirkpatrick, in Dec. 1783, returned to Europe; on the *Redney* East-Indiaman, and at the request of the Army, assumed the management of the affairs of the Society in England, where he exerted himself with the same persevering industry and active zeal as he lately had exhibited in Bengal. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge took a warm part in the concerns of the institution: Mr. Dundas, then a leading Member of the Board of Control, declared that the charity had a claim on public grounds, to the support of the Company. General Smith, Colonel Clapham, Mr. Bunsley, and Mr. Inglis, strongly interested themselves in the support of Colonel Kirkpatrick, and the consequent prosperity of the Orphan Society.

The Upper House of the Institution is supported by monthly contributions from the Army, viz. three rupees from each Subaltern and Assistant Surgeon; six rupees from each Captain and Sergeant; and nine rupees from each Major. Officers of arms and talents have given large monetary contributions.

The Officer's Fund on the 1st of Jan. 1802, independent of the private property of Orphans, amounted to 374,167 Sicca Rupees. The Soldier's Fund at the same period amounted to 197,450 Sicca Rupees. The Lower House of the Institution is supported by the East India Company; the plan for this part of the Charity was executed on the 1st of Jan. 1783. The East India Company, at and since that period have adopted as their own children those who have lost their natural parents. They have become the fathers of the Orphans of their Soldiers. May the treasure of bounty in all nations be ever open to the fatherless infant! Such was the origin of an Institution, the Managers of which assembled, sit as High Priests of Virtue, and the Guardians of six hundred Virgins. The actual Institution of the Native Hospital may be dated on the 18th of Sept. 1792, on which day the committee of Institutions and Subscribers published the following notice in the different periodical papers of that time: "The want of an Hospital or Institution for the relief of persons suffering from accidents; being severely felt by the native inhabitants of Calcutta in general, and more particularly by

the labouring part of them, a plan for establishing such an Institution, as may be best calculated to afford relief under the circumstances above alluded to, will, it is hoped, meet with the general encouragement of the settlement.—The most common observation, or the slightest reflection, will serve to shew, that in a populous city like this, accidents, such as fractures and contusions must frequently happen among the labouring part of the inhabitants; it is no less evident that the ignorance of the natives in Surgery and Anatomy totally incapacitates even those who make medicine their study from affording the slightest aid or relief in cases of the above description. The consequence of which is, that numbers of persons, who have been so unfortunate as to meet with accidents, and who with a little professional care and attention might have recovered in a few weeks, now die for want of assistance, or drag on a miserable existence, maimed and crippled for life. The numerous establishments in the city of London, and the other principal Manufacturing Towns in Great Britain, which have been founded for the purpose of administering relief in cases of the nature above described, solely by the contributions of individuals, equally tend to shew the facility with which such an Institution may be established in Calcutta, and the benefits which will thereby be diffused.

It is therefore proposed to establish a Hospital for the cure of persons labouring under accidents, which require the professional skill and assistance of a Surgeon, such an Institution can only be established and supported by the voluntary contributions of the individuals of the settlement.

The liberality of the European part of the settlement has seldom been solicited in vain, even in cases of much less emergency than the present, and it may reasonably be presumed, that in this instance, the Natives will do no less readily than the British Inhabitants to contribute their subscriptions to support an establishment, from which they themselves will derive the most beneficial advantage. With respect to the professional assistance requisite to give effect to the plan proposed, little or no difficulty can arise on that point, as the gentleman by whom it was originally suggested, has authority to say, that every support and encouragement will be given by Government in favour of a plan, which has for its object the relief of so large a body of people, as the Native Inhabitants of Calcutta.

Although in the outline of the plan submitted to the public it is stated that the object of the proposed institution is to provide relief for persons suffering from accidents, those being the cases which under the existing circumstances appear to be most urgent, it is by no means intended to confine the operation of the institution to accidents solely, provided the support

and encouragement which the plan may receive from the public, will admit of its benefits being more widely diffused; it is proposed to extend the benefits of the institution to the sick, by furnishing them with medicine and advice under such limitations as the state of the Funds may require, as well as to persons in the situation before described."

Marquis Cornwallis, then Governor General, and his Council, approved the plan, and on the 6th July 1793, granted to the Committee of the Hospital, Six Hundred Sicca Rupees per month.

On the 31st of July 1794, a general meeting of the Subscribers was held, and a plan for the management of the Hospital adopted, consisting of eighteen distinct paragraphs, the first of which contained a request to the Governor General and Supreme Council to be Patrons of the Institution, which was acquiesced with: the second paragraph appointed twelve Governors for the Hospital, three-fourths of whom were to be British-born Subjects, Armenians, or Portuguese. The eleventh paragraph constituted the Bank of Hindoostan, Treasurer: the remaining fifteen paragraphs determined the general and internal duties and concerns of the Hospital. At this meeting, twelve Governors were first nominated: the name of the Rev. Mr. Owen, as may be expected, appears the first of the twelve.

On the 4th of August Government signified to the Committee their approbation of all the proceedings of the late meeting, and on the 1st of Sept. an House was opened in Chit-pore Road for the reception of Patients.

The Court of Directors, on the 3d of July 1798, in their general letter to the Government of Bengal, expressed their approbation of the Institution.

The Governors, soon after the establishment of the institution, came to the resolution of building an house peculiarly adapted to their purposes; in consequence of which ground was purchased in the open and airy road of Dhurrumtallah: the purchase of the ground and house, with the erection of the necessary additions, stood the Governors in the sum of Sicca Rupees 41,573-5-6, which, with Sicca Rupees 46,001-6-2, in Company's paper and cash, formed the capital stock of the institution on the 1st of Sept. 1802.

From the 1st of September 1794, when the Hospital first opened for the relief of indigent natives, to the 1st of Sept. 1802, 1587 house-patients have been admitted to the benefits of the institution; and 6127 out-patients have been attended on: of this vast number, 7590 have been again restored to a healthy state to Society.

The good Edward Ives the physician and friend of Admiral Watson, observed, after the re-capture and re-establishment

of Calcutta, "It is not possible to point out a part of the world where the spirit of charity is more nobly exerted than in our East-India Company's Settlements: numerous instances may be mentioned, where princely subscriptions have in a few hours been raised, and applied to the effectual relief of many unfortunate families."

Mrs. Kinderley, who resided in and travelled through Bengal in the years 1766-7-8, ten years after the departure of Mr. Ives, observes in her letters: "There is no part of the world where people (will) part with their money to assist each other so freely as the English in India."

ACCOUNT OF CHANDERNAGORE.

CHANDERNAGORE was once a flourishing colony in the days of Watson, Pocock, and Clive, but it has lost much of that beauty with which it had been decorated by French ingenuity. The walks once so level, are now rugged, and the menacing fort dismantled. The fort was a regular square about three quarters of a mile in circumference with four bastions, each mounting, as stated by Mr. Ives, sixteen guns, besides some on the curtain. Of these, two bastions remain, on one of which stands the staff, from whence the flag of France fluttered. The mouldering walls of the Government-house, which proudly arose in the centre of Fort Orleans, point out the spot where the vain and wily Dupleix once dictated to admiring Frenchmen; and where in distant idea he first meditated the extirpation of the English and the aggrandizement of his nation. The fine Church of St. Louis stood at a small distance from the Fort; the foundation remains, which proves it to have been a massy building, and calculated for military as well as divine service. Mr. Ives informs us, there was a battery of four pieces of cannon on the top of this Church. The whole aisle is vaulted underneath, and a central entrance appears, which was covered with a flag of marble that occasionally lifted up, and doubtless was designed by the architect as a repository for the dead. On the destruction of this Church, the French Government converted a Magazine in the rear of it into a place of divine worship, and adding a plain frontispiece, have dignified it with the name of *L'Eglise St. Louis, Paroisse de Chandernagore*. When the Old Church of St. Louis was founded, I have not been able to ascertain.

The Italians built a small Chapel at Chandernagore, in the year 1726, as appears by the date engraved on the inner door; on the outer door is the following inscription, which shews it to have been dedicated to God, and the Lady of Loretto.

D : ET B. M. V. LAVRETANÆ.

The Burial Ground at Chandernagore is kept in bad order, and the monuments are in a ruinous state : there is no remarkable inscription to be seen there, nor one earlier than the year 1729 : immediately on entering the gate, the eye is attracted by a building similar to a Mohamedan Mosque, in which is an altar of rude workmanship, decorated agreeably to Papal custom. This is said to have been erected as an instant receptacle for those who died of contagious disorders, where the bodies remain until they could be conveniently interred.

Chandernagore, though stripped of its Gallic plumage, is still very populous, and contains in the town and its dependencies about 50,000 inhabitants.

ACCOUNT OF CHINSURAH.

A PLEASING sail of a few hours conducts you to Chinsurah. Over Fort Gustavus at the North gate, is, 16 o V c 87 ; Over the southern, or garden gate is, 16 o V c 92. The garden was once very beautiful and embellished with the work of the Statuary, but the Colony having experienced the miseries of war, has fallen to ruin; there are a few native Dutchmen now in Chinsurah.

The steeple of the Church of Chinsurah was not designed as such originally, but merely erected for the elevation of a chime clock, the gift of Mr. Sichterman : on the steeple is a stone bearing an inscription in the Dutch language, which has been thus translated to me.

"Built by A. Sichterman, Member Extraordinary of the High Council of the Dutch East India Company, and Governor of the Bengal Direction, &c. 1742."

Mr. Vernet added the body of the Church to this old steeple : the expence of building it could not have exceeded 12,000 Rupees.

Mr. Vernet then laid the first stone of the Church, in which divine service was performed on the 1st of November 1767.

In the Church are fifteen escutcheons, one of which is dated 1665 : this has been placed there, at the usual expence of one

Hundred Rupees, by the posterity of the deceased, whom I cannot name as the escutcheon bears initials only. The inscription on Mr. Vernet's escutcheon is as follows:

"Den weledelen Achtbaaren Heer George-Louis Vernet in Leeven Directeur van Bengalen gebooren tot S'graaven Haage den 11 Jan. An 1711, obiit tot Batavia den 13 December, An 1775 Oud 64 Jaar.

"The Honorable Mr. G. L. Vernet, who when living was Governor of Bengal, born at the Hague 11th Jan. 1711, died at Batavia 13th December 1775, aged sixty-four."*

The Dutch in every colony have "Armen Fonds" or a Poor Fund. On the capture of Chinsurah in 1795, the fund of that colony amounted to 31,000 florins, 20,000 of which arose in 1789 from the third part of a confiscated vessel, the *Antoinette*. The original part of the fund gradually accumulated from fines, church collections, and the purchase of monumental ground. The Dutch, to restrict the vanity of the poor, make the family in humblest circumstances pay the largest sum for monumental honours. A hearse and pall are kept at the expence of the fund: the hearse is hired at twenty-five rupees and the pall at sixteen.

Mrs. Vernet lies interred in the Burial Ground of Chinsurah, under a tomb with no inscription. The ground is in bad order and contains no monument, dated earlier than 1743. The tomb of the Weston family is the most remarkable one to be seen there.

Not far distant from the Burial Ground of Chinsurah is an ice field, where ice is made in the cold season. The inhabitants of Chandernagore have often attempted to emulate Chinsurah in making ice but hitherto in vain, such is the difference of climate between the two settlements, though not more than five miles apart: the country about Chinsurah is more open and level.

In the year 1695, the present Armenian Church at Chinsurah was founded by Markas Johannes, and completed in

* Mr. George Louis Vernet, was of a considerable family, and related to the famous painter of that name. He was in his youth, one of the Pages to Louis the 15th, but the judgment of his friends made them seek for a situation which promised more solid advantages, and better prospect of success; and their influence obtained his appointment in the Dutch East India Company's Service.—It is believed he came to India some years before 1750, and that he was in that year if not earlier, in Bengal.—In the year 1756, when the revolution took place by the violence, injustice, and cruelty, of the Nabob Seraje ad Dowlah, Mr. Vernet, who was then second of the Dutch Factory, at Calcutta, and the other Gentlemen of that Factory, shewed much kindness, and rendered considerable services to the gentlemen at Calcutta. In the year 1758, Mr. V. was Chief at Calcutta.

1697 by his brother Joseph. It is the oldest Church the Armenians have in Bengal.

The following inscriptions in the Armenian language appear near the altar, and are thus translated :

" Here lies interred Markar, the son of Goja Johannes, an Armenian from Julpha, of the country of Shosh : he was honored with the favour of Kings. Dying in this foreign land, to perpetuate his memory, he founded this holy church and dedicated it to St. John the Baptist, 1697."

On another stone is the following Epitaph on the tomb of Johannes Markar, the son of Johannes, the founder of the Church :

" Here lies interred the famous Khatib (*e. i.* *foreigner*) Goja Johannes, the son of Markar, an Armenian from Julpha, of the country of Shosh. He was a considerable Merchant, honored with the favour of Kings and Viceroys. He travelled North, South, East, and West, and died at Hoogly in Hindoostan, Novr. the 7. 1697."

In Chinsurah there is a neat Catholic Chapel dedicated to Jesus Maria Joze, which was completed in 1740. The famous and pious Mrs. Sebastiana Shaw, who was born in Chinsurah, left, on her demise in 1725, some funds towards the erection of this Chapel. The original one was built with mats and straw.

Chinsurah, Hoogly, and Bandel are distinct names for what may be called one city. The ancient and famous Port of Hoogly contains now but a few small houses and several poor huts. The lascivious damsels of this once gay city slumber under its ruins : when Pomp withdrew from thence, Debauchery vanished. Poverty now stalks over the ground.

In Hoogly and its environs there are many who still call themselves Portuguese, and bear the names of those immortal heroes, who first stemmed the Indian Seas under the Lusitanian flag.

On the road through Hoogly to Bandel is a Mosque, on the enter gate of which is an inscription, in Persian.

Immediately adjoining Hoogly, is the village of Bandel, and in it stands the beautiful Convent De Nossa-Senhora De Rozario, of Bandel, of Hoogly.

This famous Convent stands delightfully situated on the banks of the Hoogly : on approaching the frontispiece of it appeared to me to diffuse a cathedral gloom and struck me with religious awe. The Convent is a quadrangle, one side of which forms the chapel.

The Convent of Bandel was founded in 1599. In the same year the monks of the order of St. Augustine founded a Cathedral Church at Hoogly and also the Church of Mberacordin.

so which was attached, an Orphan House, * for the Protection and Education of Young Ladies. Merchants, and such as commerce called to distant parts, committed their families in their own absence, to sacerdotal protection in the Recolhimento of the church of Misericordia. These sacred buildings suffered in 1633, when Cassim Khan, Soubadar of Bengal, by the order of the Emperor Shah Jehan attacked Michael Rodrigues, Governor of Hoogly, and took the Portuguese fortress. The scythe of time has long since levelled these fabricks of Lusitanian grandeur at Hoogly. The Convent of Bandel only remains to point out the spot where Portugal, in days of yore, raised a flourishing colony. The Convent was pulled down in 1640, and rebuilt by that pious gentleman J. Gomes de Soto.

In the Chapel of the Convent is a stone with the following inscription rudely cut, two letters are formed in many places, such as ST, AN, VA : this makes it difficult to be understood at the first view, particularly as there is no distinction of syllables : I here make the distinction, and terminate each line where it ends on the stone, but our types do not enable me to give a fac simile.

Este Carnero Mand.
 Ov Fazer Iom Gom
 Es De Soto E Sva Mo
 Ller Peraeles es
 Evs Dessendente
 Sonde Estma Svas
 Filhas Sogra E Cva
 Nhado Osqvajisma
 Ndaram Fazer Est
 A. Igreja Ano 1661.

Which informs us, that this vault was built by order of Mr. J. Gomes de Soto and his wife, for themselves and their posterity : their Daughters, Mother-in-Law, and Brothers-in-Law are interred here. He directed this church to be built Anno 1661.

In the chapel an inscription, glazed and framed, attracted my eye : I present it to the reader with an explanation of it.

Este Altar

DA VIRGEM NOSSA SENHORA DE ROZARIO,

do Convento d'Ugolyim

He

Privilegiado ao Sabado.

Pello Sumo Pontifice

* In the Portuguese language Recolhimento, which literally signifies, a retirement and house of Protection for Ladies.

Benedict XII.

Anno de MDCCXXVI.

This shews that "the Chapel was privileged for Saturdays by the Supreme Pontiff Benedict XII. in 1726."

THE PORTUGUESE OF CALCUTTA.

THE Portuguese under Vasco de Gama discovered the passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope in 1497. Goa was captured, and Fort Emanuel founded by Albuquerque in 1510: from thenceforward to the present day, this Island has been considered as the capital of the Portuguese conquests, and the seat of the Primate and Metropolitan of all Asia.

Goa, the first city in which any European power effected a settlement. Our contemporaries have been compelled to solicit even the means of existence from the schismatic descendants of Europe. During the famine in 1793, a Carmelite monk of the Monastery of Nossa Senhora de Carmo was soliciting alms in the streets of Calcutta for the support of his convent: he came with a memorial signed by the Heads of his Order. In Goa, as in all other places where a Papal Government exists, poverty is to be seen linked with wretchedness. Yet the Portuguese invariably have made choice of the finest situation wherever they have fixed their abode—as a proof, Goa presents one of the most romantic scenes from the sea, of any on the Malabar Coast. The Fort of Algoada forms one side of the entrance to the harbour, and the Monastery of Nossa Senhora de Carmo on an high point of land, and whose beautiful appearance invites—other sentiments, than those of horrid solitude, and still more horrid celibacy.

The Portuguese first entered Bengal as military adventurers in the service of the King of Gour about the year 1538, the last year of the Government of Nuno de Cunha, the tenth Viceroy of India, these facts I give on the authority of Manuel Faria y Souza, the Historian of Portuguese Asia, who commences his history with the year 1412, and closes it with the year 1640.

The same writer states, that Melapore was erected into a Bishoprick in 1607.

In the year 1599, the Portuguese built a Fort at Hoogly, in the place now called Gholeghaut. In the same year the Missionaries of the Order of St. Augustine founded the Convent of Bandel, the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, and the Church

of Misericordia, to which was attached a Recolhimento for the Protection of Ladies: the foundation of these sacred buildings are to be seen at this day. The Convent of Bandel was demolished in 1640, and rebuilt by John Gomes De Soto.

In 1632, the Portuguese committed excesses on the Imperial Mahal at Hoogly: the Emperor demanded satisfaction, which was denied him. The incensed Monarch immediately ordered a powerful army, commanded by twenty-two Omrahs, to extirpate the Portuguese. Michael Rodrigues and his garrison bravely opposed, and the Musselmans would have besieged in vain, had not a Portuguese Mestie, Martin Pereira de Mello, betrayed the fortress, by pointing out a track through which the enemy entered and destroyed all before them with fire and sword. Michael Rodrigues and 15,000 Christian captives were dragged to the Imperial residence at Agra. Shah Jehan commanded them, as slaves of war, to be distributed among the Musselman families: of the five Augustine Friars brought to Agra, four were immediately put to death: the fifth, the Rev. Fr. J. D. Cruz, was reserved for peculiar and exemplary punishment. These events occurred in 1633.

When the day of punishment arrived, the Emperor ordered him to be cast in an area to a furious elephant. The elephant at sight of this friar, lost his native ferocity and gently caressed him with his proboscis. The astonished and disappointed Emperor determined on his pardon, and ordering him to be brought to the imperial presence, granted him three days to reflect, on any request he had to make, which should be complied with. The prudent D. Cruz did not require so much time to deliberate, but instantly determined, and solicited his own liberty, with permission to reconduct the surviving Christian captives to Bengal. I present the history to the reader as I find it in the archives of Bandel.*

* The following is copied from the original records of Dignissimo Prior Convento de Bandel. The Reader will hold in remembrance the language of Mr. Pope:

How instinct varies in the grovelling swine,

Compat'd, half reasoning elephant, with mine.

Obraqua O dia destinado para se executar O Martirio que foi no anno de 1633. O Imperador ordenou qd o M. R. P. Fr. Joao da Cruz fosse lançado aos pes de hum bravo Elefante por que esta o deprehensao na sua presença e Da toda a sua Corte esquecido o Elefante daspa natural braveza prostrando aos pes do dito Padre fez lhe cortesias e o defendeu com a tromba. Vendo isto a Corte e o mesmo Imperador tan grande prodigio forão de hum mesmo sentimento, e essentaraõ qhen dno M. R. P. Fr. Joao da Cruz era servo de Deos, e logo foi levado a presença do Imperador, o qual lhe ordenou pedisse o que quizesse porque lhe seria concedido isto; para este the deo tempo de tres dias, porem o dito Padre respondeu que não necessitava de tanto tempo e somente que queria sua Magestade lhe concedesse dar, he liberdade para voltar a Bengalla e com elle juntamente, todos os Christaos cativos.

It is certain the Portuguese were again received into favour as the Emperor presented them with an Imperial donation of 777 biggahs of land, which they possess to this day, under the name of Bandel of Hoogly, otherwise Balaghur.

By this Imperial grant, the Portuguese were permitted to found Churches, and the friars were exempted from the authority of the Soubahdars or Foujdars, and other officers of state. Within the limits of their 777 biggahs, they were allowed to exercise magisterial power, with regard to the Christians, but were denied that of life and death. They were at the same time exempted from all tribute and tolls.

Before the Portuguese were established at Hoogly, the Augustine Monks founded the Churches of Chittagong, Tezgon and Balasore, but of their foundation I can give no particulars.

Job Charnock, the father of Calcutta, settled there in the year 1688 : a few Portuguese followed him to the new settlement, where to increase population and civilization, the English Government allotted them ground for the exercise of divine worship, on which the Friars of the Order of St. Augustine erected a temporary Chapel of mats and straw, and application was made to the Prior of Bandel for a Priest to officiate therein ; the Portuguese congregation quickly increased, and before the year 1700 a brick Chapel was erected in Calcutta at the expence of Mrs. Margaret Tench : this Chapel was much enlarged in the year 1720, by Mrs. Sebastiana Shaw, during the vicarship and under the direction of the Rev. Pre Francisco Da Assumpcao ; the tomb-stones of those two pious benefactresses were placed in a conspicuous place, aloft in the walls of the old Chapel, and now lie, one at each side of the altar, in the present church of *The Virgin Mary of Rosary*.

The records of the old Chapel were destroyed during the troubles of 1756.

When the English were re-established in Calcutta, the Provincial of Goa assumed to himself the power of appointing Vicars to Calcutta, who had the management of the funds of the Church. The Portuguese saw reason that their Vestry and Wardens should have the management of the funds : on a remonstrance to the Bishop of Meliapore, that dignitary was pleased to comply with their request, and since the year 1773 the church-wardens have been the trustees of the public.

In 1777 the Bishop of Meliapore, thought proper to declare L. D' Costa, Thomas Griffith, Pascal Dessa, and D. Pereira, perpetual Wardens, in consequence of considerable legacies left to the Church by Mrs. Garret, to whose estate Mr. Griffith, one of the Wardens, was executor. The Wardens heretofore were chosen by regular and annual elections, and the inhabitants now seeing their right of election infringed, opposed and elect-

ed other Wards. This brought on a contest, which was decided by the Supreme Court in favour of the inhabitants in 1783. The suit cost them 40,000 Rupees.

In the year 1796, the Portuguese determined to throw down their Old Church and build a more spacious one in the modern style. Two opulent brothers from Bombay, Mr. Joseph Barretto and Mr. Louis Barretto, the heads of the Portuguese nation in Calcutta, stepped forward on the occasion and shewed the same zeal as Gomes de Soto. Mrs. Tench and Mrs. Shaw did of old. The first stone of the New Church was laid on the 12th day of March 1797, and on the 27th of Nov. 1799, it was consecrated and dedicated to the Virgin Mary of Rosary. The architect was Thomas Syars Dwyer, who died before the completion of the building.

The family of Barretto came very early to Asia. Captain M. T. Barretto came in 1505 in the fleet with Admiral Lopez Soares. Francis Barretto left the Tagus with three sails in 1547, and died Governor of Goa in 1558. He was the nineteenth Governor of Portuguese India—a brave and generous man, whose remains were received at Lisbon with extraordinary honors by King Sebastian.

A. M. Barretto, who died in 1576, was the twenty-sixth Governor of India. History records a dignitary of the name of J. N. Barretto, who was appointed Patriarch of Ethiopia, and the second in succession, but he died in Goa about the middle of the sixteenth century, preparatory to his departure for Ethiopia,—such were the Asian heads of this high-favoured, and munificent family, that we saw founding and endowing Churches in Bengal.

The Church of the Virgin Mary of Rosary cost 90,000 Rs. in building, 30,000 of which arose from the revenues of the Church, the remaining 60,000 accumulated by subscription. When the subscription closed, all deficiencies were made up by the Barretto family.

The close of the century, as well as the commencement of it, was distinguished for producing two pious ladies who were sincere benefactresses to the Roman Catholic Church of Calcutta, Mrs. Rita Griffith and Mrs. Philadelphia Bonick.

The present Portuguese call their Church the Church of the Poor, and declare it such in their addresses to the Bishop of St. Thomas, and that no supremacy in the world can have any claim on it.

The Portuguese Burial-ground at Byculla, is the gift of Mr. Joseph Barretto, who purchased it in 1785 for 8000 Rupees.

The Roman Catholic Church at Serampore was built under the auspices of the Barretto family: it cost 14,000 Rupees,

of which were contributed by the Honourable Colonel Bie, the Danish Governor of that settlement. The Church was consecrated in 1783, as I am told, and dedicated to *Madre de Deus*.

At Seoknagar a neat domestic Chapel was built in 1789; by the Barretto family, which cost 9000 Rupees. It was consecrated in October 1789, and dedicated to the Virgin Mary of Carmo.

THE ARMENIANS OF CALCUTTA.

IN the prosperity of the Mogul Empire, the Armenians carried on a traffic by land with India, which considerably encreased soon after Shah Abbas the First deprived them of their own Princes, and redeemed them from Turkish slavery. The Persian Monarch, by address and the fortune of his arms, gradually drew the Armenians from Ararat, or Old Julfa, to the suburbs of Ispahan, and consigning them to the protection of the Queen Mother, bestowed on them the cite of that city known to this day to the Armenians by the name of New Julfa. Shah Abbas died in 1629, after a reign of fifty years over Khorassan, and above forty-two over all Persia. The monarch, before his decease had the satisfaction to see that Armenians, by their unwearied mercantile industry, encrease the glory of his reign and the splendor of Ispahan.

The traffic of the Julfa line Armenians was first carried on by land from the two Julfas to Khorassan; from thence by Candahar and Cabul to Delhi; and when the English were settled in these territories, from Delhi, by Lucknow, to Benares, to Patna, and Bengal.

Above two hundred years ago the Armenians first entered the Persian Gulph and carried on a trade from Surat to Persia and from Persia to Venice, in consequence of which the manufactures of India are this day known in Venice by the name of *Persiana*. In process of time more bold adventurers, allured by the hope of gain, left the Persian territories by the way of Gambroon and connected themselves with the English on the Peninsula of India. The first conspicuous Armenian, who conferred with the English, on political subjects, was Goja Phangoos Kalender, a merchant of eminence and an inhabitant of Ispahan. He, on the behalf of the Armenian nation, received from the English Company considerable encouragement, and several

distinct privileges for himself. The following extract I present to the reader as immediately connected with my designs:

"Whenever forty or more of the Armenian nation shall become inhabitants in any of the garrisons, cities, or towns, belonging to the Company in the East-Indies, the said Armenians shall not only have and enjoy the free use and exercise of their religion, but there shall be also allotted to them a parcel of ground, to erect a Church thereon for the worship and service of God in their own way. And that we will also, at our own charge, cause a convenient church to be built of timber, which afterwards the said Armenians may alter and build with stone, or other solid materials, to their own good liking. And the said Governor and Company will also allow fifty pounds per annum during the space of seven years, for the maintenance of such priest, or minister, as they shall chuse to officiate therein." Given under the Company's larger Seal, &c. &c. June 22, 1688.

The Armenians gradually came from Guzerat and Surat, to Benares and Behar: about one hundred and fifty years ago they formed a settlement at Sydabad in consequence of a Phirmaund from the Mogul: when the Dutch settled at Chinsurah in 1625, they were followed by the Armenians: the Armenian chiefs joined the Dutch, were the Markar family from Shosh—a family, which, if we are to believe the yet-speaking marbles, were "favoured by Kings and Viceroy's." St. John's Church at Chinsurah was founded by this family in 1695, and is the oldest Church the Armenians have in Bengal.

On the establishment of Calcutta, 1689, the Armenians, as well as the Portuguese, accepted the invitation of Charnock, and placed themselves under the protection of his Government: Kenanentch Phanoos was permitted to purchase the ground where the Church now stands, and which was used as their burying-ground until the year 1724, when the present Church was founded by national contribution under the auspices of Aga Nazar: the steeple was added by the Huzoor Mull family in 1734: the architect was Cavond, an Armenian from Persia. In the year 1763 the Church was repaired and embellished by the deceased Aga Petrus Arratoon: in 1790 it was again considerably improved by the late highly respectable Aga Chackick Arackel, who presented the clock and built houses for the clergy. The Church is called St. Nazareth's Church, in honour of the founder. Previous to the year 1724 the Armenians performed divine service in a temporary Chapel, about one hundred yards to the south of St. Nazareth's Church. The revenues of the Church are not fixed, but the surplus, after deducting for incidental expences, is appropriated to the relief of the poor.

The connection of the Armenians with the English redounds to the national honour of both parties, as we see in the Grant made to Phanoos Kalender. The Markar family enjoyed the smiles of Kings and of their Lientenants. Kofa Serhaud was conjoined with Mr. Surman and Mr. Stephenson in the English embassy to the Imperial Court of Delhi in 1715. Our contemporaries have seen the great grandson of Phanoos Kalender, the late Aga Chachick Arackel, distinguished by the Honourable Company, who transmitted to him a miniature of the King of England.

Under the Mogal Government the Armenians had access to public offices, as many of them were very opulent merchants, highly respected by the Omrahs, among whom they had such considerable influence, that the Greeks were induced to solicit their patronage, under which they were first introduced into Calcutta, and both people, until very lately, went under the general appellation of *Gemanees*. The Greeks, for their patronage, paid to the Armenian Church one Arcoot Rupee for every bale of merchandise they received from Dacca, Sylhet, Bandana, Assam, Patna, and Moershedabad, whether it was sold in Calcutta, or exported for the Turkish market. The Greeks continued to pay this tribute until the establishment of their own Church in 1781; and then, as I learn from a *MS.* by Mr. Hastings, their community was first known in Great Britain.

I have no further particulars to offer respecting the Armenians of Calcutta. It may be observed they participated with the English in the misfortunes of 1756: but it must also be observed that when the clouds of adversity had blown away, and the Sun of British prosperity again beamed glory in Bengal, the Armenians participated in the genial warmth of its rays, and received in compensation for their losses 700,000 Rupees.

THE GREEKS OF CALCUTTA.

COMMERCE allured the Greeks, as well as the Armenians, to an association with the English in India.

The first eminent Grecian who settled in Calcutta was *Hadjee* Alexious Argyree,* a native of Phillippopolis: he came to Bengal in 1750.

* He made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and the Greeks who do so acquire the appellation of *Hadjee*; as well as the Mahomedans, who go to Mecca. The Armenian term, *them* Mukdsree is a Turkish word, and consequently not to be found in the Greek Lexicon.

Mr. Philip Du Cruz, a very old and respectable Portuguese Merchant of Calcutta, has stated to me, that he accompanied Alexios Argyree in a voyage from Calcutta for Mocha and Judda at the close of the year 1770 in the ship *Alexander*. Argyree went as interpreter in the Arabic language to Thornhill, who commanded the vessel. On the 29th of Dec. they met with a severe gale in which the vessel was dismasted; at the moment of extreme danger, when all expected the vessel must have foundered, Argyree made a solemn vow to heaven, that if they survived the threatening perils he would found a Church in Calcutta for the Grecian congregation. When the gale abated they put in and refitted at Madras, and in February 1771 proceeded to Mocha, where they took in a cargo of coffee for Pondicherry: as the season was too far advanced for the vessel to proceed to Judda, Captain Thornhill dispatched Argyree overland to Cairo to procure a Pashaund from the Boys for liberty for the English to trade to Suez: Argyree returned successful, and at the commencement of the Government of Mr. Hastings, received a favourable answer to a petition he presented for permission to establish a Greek Church in Calcutta.

The Greek Church in Calcutta consequently dates its existence from the year 1772, but divine service had been occasionally performed there by the few Greeks in the Settlement since the year 1769.

Such additional information as I have respecting the Greek Church in Calcutta I owe to the Rév. Constantio Parthenio, a gentleman, polite and communicative; and one who is unquestionably the most enlightened person under the English Government of all the descendants of Hellas.

By the sanction of the Patriarch of Constantinople, Argyree brought a Minister from Alexandria, and under the auspices of the munificent Hastings, purchased, with the assistance of the Greeks a small house in the alley contiguous to, and in the rear of, the steeple of the present Portuguese Church of the Virgin Mary of Rosary, where divine service was performed for the spiritual benefit of the Greeks in Calcutta. Death put a period to the further pious intentions of Argyree. He died at Dacca on the 25th of August 1777.

The foundation of the present Greek Church was laid in June 1780, three years after the death of Argyree. It was consecrated on the 6th of August 1781, and dedicated to *The Transfiguration of our Blessed Redeemer on Mount Tabor*.

The estate of the late Argyree, and his surviving family contributed to the purchase of the ground and the erection of the building, which cost, together, about thirty thousand rupees,

but the principal part of this sum arose from voluntary contributions on the solicitation of Mr. Parthenio, a native of Corfu, who settled in Bengal in 1775. This gentleman attracted the notices of Mr. Hastings, who, with that liberality and condescension for which he was ever distinguished, placed his name at the head of the Subscription for two thousand rupees, and thus set an example to the English to encourage the pious intentions of the Greeks. The English Gentlemen contributed largely, and the few poor Greeks trading to Bengal added each their mite to the aggregate. The Greek Church is in fact a Sacellum.

In the Church is a Sanctorum: the Thuribula and Chandeliers are of silver, and made after the Jewish fashion.

The Greek Society at Calcutta is called among the brethren "The Orthodox Brotherhood of the Greeks in Calcutta."

There was a fraternal agreement passed among the Greeks of Calcutta for the purpose of directing the temporal affairs of their Church, by which they have resolved, that it is the property of themselves and their successors so long as any of the same nation and religion remain in Calcutta. The Greeks declare the King of England the Protector of their Temple, and daily implore the Almighty for his prosperity at the foot of their altar.

The Revenues of the Greek Church at present scarcely amount to eighteen hundred rupees per annum; one part of which rises from a taxation on about forty Native Greeks, who contribute according to their circumstances, but they are almost all poor, as the branches of trade they are engaged in, is of little importance: the other part arises from the rent of four houses; one of which had been appropriated for the celebration of divine service in the days of Argyree, before the foundation of the Temple of the Transfiguration; the other three were the bequest of pious Greeks on their demise.

Their Ministers are sent to India by the permission of the Patriarch of Constantinople, from whatever part of Greece the congregation are desirous to have them.

The Greeks in Bengal would admit proselytes, were they not apprehensive of vagrant Indians throwing themselves on the Charity of their community, the aggregate fund of which is too small for the purpose of extensive benevolence, or even the administration of relief to any, but the indigent of their own circumscribed Society, and then the distribution is made with a frugal hand. They, however, admit proselytes in the following cases: if a Greek wishes to marry a native woman, she is first baptized, and their progeny educated conformable to the rites of the Greek Church: Several native orphans and forlorn youth of both sexes (*perhaps fifty*) serving in Grecians

families have been baptized and educated at the expence of their masters : there are now several of this description in Bengal, who understand the ancient Greek, and read and write the modern language with facility. In the aisle of the Church of the Virgin Mary of Rosary are to be seen some tomb-stones which originally covered the remains of Turkish Greeks ; few of the Greek Islanders came to Bengal, and at this very day the Turkish Greeks prevail in Calcutta ; of the small number from the classic ground Demetrius Galanos from Athens must be particularized as a man whose accomplishments and skill as a Grammarian have rendered him highly respectable and the delight of the Grecians. This gentleman pursued his studies in the Sanscrit language at the Oxford of the East. Such are the particulars I have been able to collect concerning our new mercantile associates to which I will subjoin a mere notice of the Greeks at Dacca.

At Dacca there are few a peddling Greeks. The son of Argyree resides there, the survivor of misfortunes. Phangiothes Alexois, called by the English Mr. Paniotty, was born in Philippopolis and came to India in 1772, under the auspices of his father. His descent from Argyree, his zeal, in the days of his prosperity, to forward the pious wishes of his father, and his having lost a most amiable wife in 1798, are all the circumstances that have come to my knowledge respecting him.

Mrs. Paniotty lies under monumental honours in the Greek Burial Ground on the road from Dacca to Tezong ; this ground the Greeks purchased in 1792, as they did not wish the remains of their brethren should repose in the cemetery of the Portuguese Chapel at Tezong. Coja Simon, a native of Casaria, chiefly contributed towards the purchase of the Burial Ground. The Greeks first settled at Dacca in the year 1772.

THE END.

